

Kennedy and Baldwin *The Editors*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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from
Washington

If the Safety Valve Jams

★ Nothing will get civil rights legislation through the Senate except cloture and the present situation could produce a really tremendous Constitutional crisis. President Kennedy is applying pressure by flying to Hawaii to address the conference of mayors on civil rights. Already this is creating a terribly embarrassing situation for Senate Republicans.

To apply cloture requires a two-thirds vote—67 Senators. What should be spelled out, and underlined, is that Southern votes (about 20) are not enough to win a filibuster alone. They *must* have votes of the small, privileged outside states who jealously cherish their built-in veto power. In the UN Assembly little Kuwait's vote balances off America's; but in the US Senate the vote of South Dakota balances off not only New York's in a filibuster fight under the two-thirds rule, but California's as well!

The "tyranny of the majority" is often cited to justify the Senate rule. Walter Lippmann rather glibly came back to it last week. But he and others ought to realize—and explain—that the so-called "two-thirds" in practice gives veto power to Senators who may represent only one-fifth or one-tenth of the nation's population. This is minority protection gone crazy. Men like Hayden of Arizona and Gruening of Alaska helped block the effort to shut off debate last February. The vote was 54-42 for cloture but this was not the necessary two-thirds, and it lost. Only 17 Southern votes, incidentally, were cast against cloture. An archaic and outrageous Senate rule may block the

Negroes' access to legislative redress. Watch out for the boiler when the safety valve jams!

The present Senate has 67 Democrats and 33 Republicans. To get a two-thirds majority Democrats, in spite of the South, would have to supply 45; Republicans 22. Historically and statistically this would seem almost impossible, and yet the alternative could be so inflammatory that one hesitates to suggest it. But legislative impotence probably means racial violence. The public does not realize it yet, but this session of Congress may last right through 1963. The Senate will get the tax bill first; the civil rights bill probably not until August or later.

Social convulsions (and we suspect this is one) normally occur after things begin to improve. Revolutions start on the upswing. What triggered this one, of course, was the fire hose playing on praying Negroes, and police dogs tearing their clothes. How could you be "moderate" about a thing like that?

We can now see that fate has made Mr. Kennedy the mediator between two epochs. He didn't want it that way; a new frontier came rapping at his door. In retrospect we can see, too, that nobody could win justice for the Negroes but the Negroes themselves.

Showmanship

★ This may well be the real test of the President's emotional involvement. As we mull things over we recall a trivial incident when we were out campaigning with him in Pennsylvania in 1960. It was a county fair and the Salvation Army, or somebody, was selling symbolic "bricks" for a new headquarters, at a dollar a brick. Kennedy bought a brick and the photographers demanded a picture but he quickly backed away; even in the heat of the campaign he drew the line at gimmicks; no Calvin Coolidge war bonnet for him.

It pleased us at the time and still does; a code that rejects ignoble trivia. Kennedy is a cool, hard, intellectual type who doesn't care to display passions in public. He got where he is by finding and manipulating the levers of power and now in the White House he instinctively works through the power centers in Congress for deals and bar-

gains. As he said in his TV interview last December, "There is no sense in raising hell, and then not being successful."

There comes a point, however, where emotionalism transcends rationalism. The heart takes over from the head. This, we think, is one of them. Call it histrionics, flamboyance, demagoguery, but a great leader must also have showmanship: LaGuardia riding the fire truck, Khrushchev banging his shoe, FDR in nearly everything he did. Vulgar—? maybe; but vulgar is Latin for "the multitude."

Buying a Senate Seat

★ One of the basic political facts is that it's cheaper to buy a Senate seat from a small state than a big state. That is why every element in the John Birch coalition is pouring money into 12 to 14 small states in the fight against liberal Senators up for re-election next year. Even with Kennedy winning there may be a liberal holocaust.

Take liberal Senator Gale McGhee (D, Wyo.), for example. In New York there are 6 million votes, in Wyoming only 120,000. Birchites and fellow-travelers pretty well run Wyoming already; 15 of the state's 23 radio stations accept the \$1,000-a-month retainer of the rightist coalition. Twice a day, seven times a week, anti-UN, anti-trade union, anti-Supreme Court extremist propaganda goes out. Much the same thing is happening over other mountain and prairie states.

★ Notes: The contact between the defense industry and Pentagon graduates is close: *Louisville Courier-Journal* reporter Richard Harwood recalls that three years ago General Dynamics Corporation, successful TFX bidder, had 27 ex-generals and admirals on its payroll; Lockheed Aircraft also had 27 generals and admirals. . . . Washington increasingly feels President Kennedy's European trip is ill-timed. . . . Lyndon Johnson, who is making eloquent appeals now for Negro rights helped block stricter tools against the filibuster in his Senate ruling last February. . . . Washington thinks the big civil defense program, with underground shelters, is just about ready to expire.

Kennedy and Baldwin

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"Suddenly I looked at the Attorney General and understood that he did not understand us and for just a minute I felt for him. We were, after all, saying something quite un-American. We were talking against tinkering. We were saying that even the most effective political manipulation is basically unacceptable to Negroes. It didn't mean anything for him to tell us that this Administration has done more in this area than any other Administration. We were asking him to stop thinking about this as the special problem of a particular group of people and to begin to think about it as an American problem."

- DR. KENNETH CLARK, the psychologist, remembering the visit of James Baldwin and friends to the Attorney General of the United States on Central Park South, May 24, 1963.

All parties present seem to agree that communication broke down in the confrontation of Robert F. Kennedy with a group of Negroes assembled by James Baldwin. Baldwin picks a special moment after which any sense he had of people talking to one another departed. Jerome Smith, an exhausted veteran of Martin Luther King's itinerant non-violent army, was telling the Attorney General what he had endured from policemen in the South; Robert Kennedy is said to have answered: "A lot of people have had a hard time." The reaction the Attorney General recalls was "hysterical" laughter; the reaction Baldwin remembers was despair. At one point, the Attorney General brought up and dismissed the suggestion that the President escort two Negro students this month into the University of Alabama; it would, he said, be only an "act." "But that's what we want," someone replied, "an act." The President's brother was talking about a piece of stage business; the Negro was talking about the affirming gesture. One word, two meanings.

The Attorney General was sitting with persons one thinks of as examples of the security and success which some Negroes have found in America: James Baldwin, the novelist; Lorraine Hansberry, the playwright; Harry Belafonte and Lena Horne (she having flown in from Hollywood on a few hours' notice); and Clark, who has been a resource for the Supreme Court. Yet the central figure was none of these. It was Jerome Smith, a 25-year-old wanderer from jail to jail, a man with fierce contempt for a government which would protect the "free world" but cannot protect him in Alabama. "All of us said

that Jerome was the whole thing. If the Attorney General couldn't listen to him, he couldn't listen to anyone else," Baldwin told a reporter later.

Consider the figure of James Baldwin. He is fashionable now, and how extraordinary is his difference from the Negro who used to be fashionable. Walter White was all executive competence. Marian Anderson was endurance and calm. Baldwin is exhaustion and tension, a rag doll pulled on the one side by a child who loves and on the other by a child who hates. He is a waif, an outcast, living in a waiting room between Harlem and our America; yet he is on the cover of *Time* and the Attorney General calls upon him for counsel – and does not get it.

The real shock to the Negroes was their suspicion that the Attorney General of the United States felt so helpless. They listened to his explanation of how difficult it is for the Federal Bureau of Investigation to improve justice in the states and cities of the South. "Mr. Kennedy," Lena Horne said, "you've never been a Negro questioned by the FBI." How *could* he understand? How many can remember seeing a Negro FBI agent? Yet that is the least of it. It would be elementary justice for the FBI to hire Negroes, but it would make very little difference in Lena Horne's complaint. For she is saying the cops are on the other side. Just how many white American women as wealthy and comfortable as she have unpleasant memories of an FBI investigation? Miss Horne could have added that although Jackson, Mississippi, will hire Negro policemen, they will not be permitted to arrest white people.

When the Administration began considering a civil rights bill, the first suggestion that occurred was a section affirming the right of a Negro to be served lunch in any mercantile establishment dealing in goods produced in interstate commerce. But the desegregation of lunch counters has already been accomplished or soon will be all over the South, and by the Negroes themselves. So here we have a bold assertion of the interstate commerce power by a government which seems otherwise powerless to prevent its citizens from being bombed. James Baldwin and his friends are all for law – as is Governor Wallace of Alabama – but they're trying to say something more important than "protect us from the rowdies and the dogs and the swinging clubs and the jails." They're asking for more than legal rights. Though no restaurant, hotel, or theater in Washington, D. C., would bar a Negro today, as they did 20 years ago, last week a prominent Washington funeral director (white) refused to accept the body of a four-year-old Panamanian colored boy; the dead are still segregated. A labor gang on the street is still either all-white or all-black; the truck driver is white, his helper is Negro. A guest for lunch with the Attorney General remarked last week how struck he was at how

Southern the scene was as Negro waiters bent to pour coffee while the Attorney General wondered aloud what Negroes are thinking.

The Baldwin meeting left Robert Kennedy feeling rejected: "We seem to be shut out everywhere," he said. He most earnestly wishes to be the honest broker between contending interests. But he cannot be broker to the official South because he offers the threat of Progress to people whose oldest pride it is to be inflexible; and he cannot be broker to the Negro, because he is offering the poor token of Progress to people whose sudden pride it is to find themselves revolutionaries. A political order which for 100 years has needed to think of the Negro only as a voter now confronts him as marcher, as rebel.

And what do the marchers want? Martin Luther King puts it in three words – "all, here, now." They want to *qualify*, and they will not qualify so long as they are done for, as servants are done for. A few thousand more Negroes hired or upgraded on the job this year will make little difference. We are dealing here with prolonged, massive neglect. The neglected are certainly not all Negroes, yet by the nature of their condition and the urgency of their protest, the Negroes are today the only face of the poor which enforces itself on a public otherwise determined to flee as far as it can from the spectacle of the poor. Who sees West Virginia? We are talking about one-tenth of the population of the United States, 12 percent of whom are out of work. When we think about where the Negro lives, we have to think about all our slums; when we think about him unemployed and untrained, we have to think about the darkening future of all the unskilled; when we think about the schools his child has to go to, we have to think about all our blighted schools. Finally, we can solve his problem only by engaging all our own. The festering hostility in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles – as well as Birmingham – is rooted not in segregated public accommodations or even in segregation by neighborhoods, but in resentment at being so long and so hopelessly at the bottom. That is why Kenneth Clark was so precise when he came up with the word "un-American" to describe the nature of the Negro's insistence. Massive deprivation does not lend itself to our national habit of fixing and tinkering. Fortunately, there have been recently some faint and hopeful signs this thought has got through at the top in Washington.

Rise in Radiation

Radiation from nuclear tests will be at least twice as high in the US this year as it was in 1962, and perhaps more than that. The amount of leukemia-producing Strontium-90 deposited in the bones of American chil-

COMING

*Who's Blocking Desegregation?**by Robert Coles*

dren in 1963 will be almost five times greater than in 1961. In Utah last July, an Iodine-131 reading 90 times more than the acceptable risk level was recorded. The Iodine-131 total pushed past the acceptable limit in Salt Lake City for an entire 12-month period; Des Moines and Kansas City were close to the yearly limit for this radionuclide, which attacks the thyroid glands of children. As anticipated, figures for this spring, available in a few weeks, will show another sharp rise in radiation from the 1961-62 round of massive Soviet and US testing.

These findings and predictions were relayed matter-of-factly by government scientists in testimony before the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy last week. But Dr. Paul C. Tompkins of the Federal Radiation Council and the other government witnesses insisted that present and future levels of radiation from nuclear testing pose no health hazard. "There will be no noticeable medical effect," said Dr. Tompkins. "These children are not threatened. These levels are not dangerous."

Perhaps he is right. Rep. Melvin Price, who conducted the hearings, acknowledged that there was no scientific evidence to the contrary. The salient, disturbing point, however, is that the government's past and present performance in this field does not contribute to confidence in its word. Radioactive fallout is one of the oldest established, permanent floating cases of news management in Washington.

The Kennedy Administration is as adept at radiation sleight-of-hand as its Republican predecessor. A recent FRC report estimated, on page three, that the Strontium-90 concentration in human bone would be seven units in 1964. No mention of 1963. On page 46, the report disclosed that the Strontium dosage to bone (where it can cause cancer) may reach 12 units this year, almost one-fourth of the acceptable limit. It was 2.6 units in 1961.

What is the basis for the assurances no one is threatened? Tompkins admitted that it was essentially a matter of judgment, rather than scientific evidence. The standard argument was repeated – that nuclear radiation is only a very small fraction of natural background radiation, with which man has always lived. But Strontium-90 and Iodine-131, among others, are not found in nature, and their effect is cumulative.

Price and Rep. Chet Holifield want the FRC to be

more precise, to spell out definite radiation guides for fallout. The present guidelines, it develops, were intended only for industrial use of atomic energy. Price wonders how the scientists can be sure there is no danger from present fallout levels when they have no standards with which to make this determination. But the Council is resisting. Fallout guides which, if exceeded, could lead to removal of fresh milk and other foods from the market "should be approached cautiously, if not reluctantly, as a point of national policy," Tompkins declared. And if the US wanted to resume nuclear testing, such limits could prove downright embarrassing. As one senior official put it privately: "The Russians could test us out of business," simply by pushing the radiation levels close to the limit and presenting the US with a hard moral choice.

During the joint committee hearings, Sen. Aiken observed that every year the government witnesses "appear to be a little less sure and a little more reassuring than they were the year before." That may satisfy some Congressmen, but what of an anxious public?

"No One Fully Understands"

The farmers too contribute to polluting the environment. But here again, we don't know precisely how dangerous that pollution really is. We do know that American farmers and farm workers grow seven times as much food, man for man, as Soviet collective and state farm workers, and that there are drawbacks as well as advantages in this regime of abundance. The bulging waistline has become a national neurosis; at the same time half of the rest of the world goes hungry, as the President remarked at the opening session of the World Food Congress in Washington, attended by some 1,200 delegates who have come from over a hundred nations. They are assembled, appropriately, in the capital of the country that has already given away some \$12 billion of surplus food and fiber and, on occasion, tobacco – and continues to stagger under the burden of paying for the storage and other maintenance costs of another \$8 billion worth of surplus products.

The growers who produce these embarrassing surpluses know that abundant crops don't spring out of the ground for the asking. Each seed has to be provided with the nutrients it needs and protected or sheltered, simultaneously, from all the influences that might impede its germination and development. Every form of life that competes with the farmer's crop has to be cut down, rooted out, or poisoned. The *cleaner* the crop, as farmers say, the bigger the harvest.

In their enthusiasm for the cleanest possible crops on the dwindling acreage that they are allowed to plant under the price support laws, farmers have applied

to their fields lavish tonnages of wonder drugs – weed killers, bug killers, growth stimulants and rot retardants. The trouble with such unchecked use of new and dangerous chemicals, as described so dramatically by Rachel Carson in *Silent Spring*, is that the human consumers of these abundant crops may be poisoned along with the bugs.

It's easy enough to determine whether any toxic substance causes immediate damage. The difficulty, as with radioactive fallout, is that there are so many delayed effects. Also, harmful consequences are produced indirectly, through the possible interaction of the residues with drugs repeatedly taken for the cure of common ailments. Indeed, the similarity of these phenomena to what we already know of radiation sickness has led to the belated recognition that what we are faced with, or suspect we are faced with, is a very large-scale poisoning of our environment.

That being so, it is nothing short of a scandal that in a 15-page statement delivered by Miss Carson on June 4 before the Senate Committee on Government Operations, which was received with applause by the Senators and the overflow audience that came to hear her, there are no fewer than 19 references to our lack of knowledge: "There are little understood interactions . . . no one fully understands . . . there are some indications . . . no one can answer this question today . . . we are now beginning to wonder . . ." and so on.

Economic Arithmetic

Despite an unemployment rate which remains near six percent, the Federal Reserve authorities have been tightening credit. Higher interest rates and restricted credit will mean less business investment and consumer spending, and thus partly offset the stimulus from last year's tax credit on new investment and the reforms in corporate depreciation practices, and from the cut in tax rates that the President has requested for the next several years. In restricting credit, the "Fed" has taken advantage of the much greater than expected buoyancy of the economy these past few months. Yet even if the country continues to move ahead at its present pace, which seems unlikely since the sizable fillip from steel stockpiling has now run its course, no appreciable dent will be made in unemployment.

The move toward tighter money appears based on two quite separate factors – the large, continuing US balance of international payments deficits, and an alleged deterioration in the quality of credit. As to the first of these, an improvement in the balance of payments that may result from boosting domestic interest rates and lowering credit availability can be obtained at too high a cost in terms of domestic income and

employment. As to the second – the increase in mortgage foreclosures and bankruptcies and the lengthening maturities on auto loans and home mortgages – these are normal developments which should be expected when the supply of credit increases relative to the demand. In a market economy, lenders are expected to react by adjusting interest rates to fit the riskiness to different classes of borrowers.

The appropriate benchmarks for determining whether money is too tight or too easy are the stability of prices and the level of unemployment, not the balance of payments or the quality of credit. Prices have been relatively stable over the last several years, while unemployment has been excessively high. Easier money could contribute greatly toward increasing employment without endangering price stability, even though it might temporarily weaken the balance of payments.

The basic task of the Administration is to devise economic policies which distinguish problems involving large dollar magnitudes from those which involve small dollar magnitudes. The President's Council of Economic Advisers estimates that the gap between actual income and the potential income if unemployment were cut to four percent is \$30-\$40 billion. In contrast, while it is persistent and difficult, the balance-of-payments problem is of the magnitude of \$2 billion.

The Bill for Education

Between those on Capitol Hill who hate to spend money for anything and those who won't appropriate it for desegregated schools and another smaller group which would not mind aiding education if some relief were given at the same time to private (i.e. parochial) schools, the children of America – and especially those in lower-income neighborhoods – are left stranded, though there are more and more of them every year and more and more demand for higher skills.

In previous notes, *The New Republic* has put forward several new approaches to this problem of improving education. There remains to be discussed the alternatives of tuition grants, tax reductions or tax credits for parents whose children attend private schools, whether church-related or secular.

Nobody has yet proposed tuition grants, but tax deductions or tax credits for tuition (mostly confined to higher education, but sometimes embracing elementary and secondary schools) have been proposed by more than a hundred Representatives and Senators in this session of Congress alone. Some of these bills would make tuition payments deductible from income taxes, as contributions to private schools are deductible now. Such deductions would, of course, help the rich (who might save \$600 or \$700 on an \$800 tuition bill) more

than the poor (who would get back perhaps \$30 on \$150 tuition). Some Congressmen want therefore to provide a tax credit (typically 30 percent of tuition bills) instead of a deduction. This would help those who attend high-tuition prep schools more than those attending low-tuition parochial schools, many of which charge little or no tuition anyway. But credits would still be more equitable than deductions.

None of these tax-angled bills is likely, however, to get a sympathetic hearing for several reasons. The Treasury, as well as Wilbur Mills, is hostile to any plan which would cost at least \$500 million (mostly for higher education) in 1963-64, and more as tuitions rose to exploit the windfall. Furthermore, any scheme which provides no-strings assistance to private education is today an open invitation to establish white private schools at public expense. Louisiana's tuition grants of \$360 a year per pupil were initiated with just this in mind, although applications have also been received from parochial school parents. Tax deductions and credits, as well as tuition grants, could of course be restricted to parents whose children were in integrated schools. But any bill with such a provision would have small chance of getting through Congress; and without such a restriction none should.

What then is our tentative conclusion? First, that any proposal for federal aid needs to be judged primarily by whether it will improve secular education. Second, that the education of the 13 percent of American pupils who are in church-related schools ought not to be starved merely because they are there by choice (this saying no more than that the public is obligated to aid depressed areas, even though people who live there are free to move). Third, neither history nor common sense supports the claim of some Catholics that the Church is entitled to state aid for teaching anything it chooses to call a "secular subject" without accepting any state control over the content and quality of the teaching. Fourth, that any public effort to control the content of the parochial school curriculum runs the risk of arousing sectarian controversy unless both Catholics and non-Catholics display more flexibility and goodwill than they have in the past. Fifth, that a first step toward developing such mutual consideration might well be the assembling of a working group of Catholic, Protestant, Jewish and non-affiliated scholars to try to evolve a mutually-acceptable scheme of federal aid. Initially, such a group ought not to include many "educational leaders," for they are too often wedded to the positions of the organizations which give them prominence and tend to speak only *ex cathedra*. Once new and promising avenues of federal action have been opened up, however, school administrators could and should be brought in and told that it is up to them to work out the details. They might be moved to give

themselves wholeheartedly to the search were they told that unless they do reach agreement, there is little hope of getting *any* substantial federal aid for elementary and secondary schools – this year or next.

Fringe Benefits

One of the more notable features of welfare capitalism in this country is the proliferation of private fringe benefits. Corporations, whose executives lament the incentive-destroying welfare programs of government, are often in the lead in providing a corporate equivalent. A recent *Wall Street Journal* article points out that the financial outlay for these benefits has risen by 600 percent since 1946, to a total above \$20 billion a year. Employer payments for private pension and welfare plans reached \$9.6 billion in 1962, compared to employer contributions to the public social insurance system of \$5.9 billion. Metropolitan Life, reports the *Journal*, provides a free hot lunch for 18,000 employees in New York; Du Pont has a 710-acre country club for its employees.

Why this rising solicitude for employees' welfare? One reason is to reduce job turnover: the rate at which production workers are switching jobs is down by almost half from that of 15 years ago. But in an economy changing as rapidly as ours, a substantial rate of labor mobility is essential. Moreover, the tying down of the employee to his employer, through fringe benefits he cannot carry with him if he quits for another job in another firm, raises the specter of neo-feudalism. If rights in employees' insurance and pension plans were invested in the employees, so that they could retain at least some of the benefits if they switch jobs, this criticism would lose much of its force.

There are also questions of equity involved here. The ability of an employer to sustain expensive fringe benefits depends upon the market position of the firm; the more competitive the industry, the less likely it is that the firm will have a sufficient surplus from which to dispense such largesse. Administered price industries and companies are the ones that can best support large-scale welfare schemes; but since these are also the firms which can best afford to pay good wages and salaries, it turns out that the best-paid employees are the ones enjoying the most generous fringe benefits – although the lowest paid workers are the ones most in need of them. If one works for a small firm, in a service industry, the chance to enjoy welfare capitalism is minimal.

These benefits likewise derive from a regressive tax system, and a tax without representation at that. The consumer of a Du Pont product or the purchaser of a Met Life policy is the one who pays for the employer-sponsored fringe benefits, and this consumer may have

a lower income than the employee of the large firm who receives the benefits.

Finally, some fringe benefits constitute a form of untaxed income, thus creating an additional inequity between those whose income is totally in the form of cash and those whose income is partly in non-taxable benefits. A free lunch every working day adds up to a considerable amount in the course of a year.

Shouldn't we have a more inclusive public social insurance system, with a higher level of benefits, in place of the varying private plans which could then be forbidden? An appropriate policy, I would suggest, would be one which recognized the universal need and desire for more extensive social insurance, allowing individuals to supplement these benefits out of their own cash income as they wish, but not permitting private "taxation" without representation, or compulsory employee membership in employer plans when the employee has no vote in the matter, as is often the case.

I would add one further proposal: that our social insurance system be financed out of progressive personal and corporate income taxes, rather than a highly regressive payroll tax. At present, a man with \$4,800 income a year pays the same amount toward Social Security as the man with an income of \$48,000 per year. What justification, in economics or equity, is there for that?

MICHAEL REAGAN

Relief in Illinois

Elburn, Illinois

Republican politicians hope they have saved Illinois from the Kennedys in 1964 by imposing low ceilings on aid to a half-million relief recipients. Democrats, on the other hand, would like to think that the aid check famine has reminded Chicago Negroes who their real friends are. Whoever is proved right, the relief crisis here reflects the fact that a number of national problems have attained cruel proportions in this state. The exodus of Negroes from the rural South has raised Chicago's colored population to about 700,000 — from 13.6 percent of the population in 1950 to 25.8 percent. Life for these ill-equipped immigrants has been made harder by slum landlords, real-estate covenants, the flight of whites to the suburbs and the exodus of meat packers and others to rural communities. Automation in steel and in other Illinois industries has further restricted job opportunities.

The cost of public aid has gone from \$275 million to \$625 million in 10 years and is expected to reach \$710 million for the coming biennium. One out of every four budget dollars goes to relief in some form. In a state with a large rural vote and heavy real-estate taxes, an outcry against "welfare spending" was inevitable;

and the prime target of economy-minded Republicans was the Aid to Dependent Children program, which pays for food, rent and other expenses for more than 275,000 women and children.

Last August Governor Otto Kerner appointed Arnold Maremont, a wealthy industrialist, as chairman of the Illinois Public Aid Commission, which has an unusual degree of autonomy under present law (a change is being considered in Springfield now). Without waiting for the General Assembly to convene and act on his nomination, Maremont began to talk about supplying birth control material to stem the increasing ADC population. When they heard the news, Mayor Daley and other Illinois Democrats looked like frozen beets. The Governor said nothing. The Illinois Attorney General stepped in with an opinion that the State Auditor could not spend public money to support illicit conduct, and the Auditor refused to release funds. At this point the legislature, in session but not yet ready to confirm Maremont, broke into the news with its demand for ceilings on relief checks.

The Republican campaign was led by Rep. Rae C. Heiple II, secretary of the Legislative Advisory Committee to the Public Aid Commission. Earlier this year his Committee had issued a report that dwelt on the high proportion of illegitimate Negro children (58,212 out of 152,021) on the ADC rolls. It recommended a two-year residency requirement, strict policing and ceilings. Heiple appended a minority report in which he denounced all relief as a social evil and commented at length on the "Negro race" — "This is a culture only three or four generations from slavery. . . . An ADC relief check of \$150 or \$160 per month to a 17-year-old Negro girl is often preferable to a job as a housekeeper at \$8 per day."

As the coffers ran dry — "no ceilings, no appropriations," the legislators said — Maremont became enraged. He called a press conference April 25, and ignoring the fact that the GOP-dominated Senate had confirmed his appointment only the day before, he denounced the Republicans as practitioners of "racism" and "Hitlerism." It was the Senators' turn to become enraged. They demanded Maremont's ouster. Governor Kerner declined, but he also declined to fight for Maremont in the Senate, issuing instead a statement that Maremont's usefulness had been impaired. The Senators promptly rescinded confirmation, ignoring a plea from Mayor Daley that Maremont be forgiven. The Senate's action was probably unconstitutional but there was no one to raise the point, except Maremont.

He reportedly returned to his business in Chicago, bitter at everyone but the Mayor. Republicans remained intransigent about ceilings; the federal government rushed surplus food into Chicago for breadlines; rumors cropped up again that the Kennedy forces would

dump Kerner in 1964, and the Governor caved in.

Under the new ceilings an ADC mother of 12 children will have \$220 a month with which to feed and care for herself and family. She will get up to \$75 a month for rent (\$90 in exceptional cases), though no one has said just where shelter for 13 people can be found at that price. Birth control is again the responsibility of private organizations.

Meanwhile, the Cubs have returned to Wrigley Field, and the legislature has turned its attention to a \$96,000 appropriation to study diseases in race horses.

RICHARD T. COOPER

A Day at the Polls

Hayden, Colorado

I was up early and joined my fellow members of the local wheat election board, farmers' wives like myself, at the polling place in the community church on May 21. There were farmers already there, waiting to vote, the early ones who wanted to do their duty before they went to the field. So we hurriedly set up shop, issued ballots and showed these first customers how they could vote privately at a table behind one of the Sunday school screens. These early birds were the young men in their twenties who had sat in my high school English classes in previous years – courteous lads who are now working the land in partnership with their semi-retired fathers. One after the other they seized a pencil at the judges' table and marked their big, defiant X's in the *No* box on their ballots, saying, "I ain't ashamed for nobody to see the way I vote." (So much for my English classes and that cherished heritage, a secret ballot.)

After the early rush, there were several hours of calm. We looked over our list of voters, divided up the few clerical tasks of the day, set up our coffee-pot, did our own voting as joint tenants of our husband's land, and then got out our knitting. We have all lived here many years. There were several broken arms and new marriage engagements to talk about. We avoided the topic of the day, for we have too long an experience of affectionate acquaintance to quarrel. The others belong to the Farm Bureau, and it is well-known in our town that my husband and I resigned after we had watched a paid National Association of Manufacturers propagandist for a Right-to-Work law convince a Farm Bureau group that it was the farmers' duty to protect the poor laboring man from his unions.

I knew, of course, that the local Farm Bureau had worked hard to bring out a *No* vote, but as the day went on, the extent and success of its effort was revealed. Our precinct has never polled more than 50 votes on the annual wheat referendum. This year we

totalled 104. Since anyone who shares the income from land with a government wheat allowance was eligible to vote, the "Freedom Workers" had rounded up every wife, every landlord, every tenant, and they came with fire in their eyes. The private booth was seldom used, and when it was, I felt almost certain that a furtive *Yes* was being cast.

The prosperous cattlemen and their families came during the morning. For the most part, they have very small wheat allotments on their big ranches, and they either lease these few acres or put them in the Soil Bank. The Farm Bureau had had no problem with them. Unlimited production of wheat will mean lower prices for feed grain for their cattle, so they came in to vote for "Freedom."

Then there were the harried young wives of the early voters, pretty girls dashing in from their carloads of babies. "Harry gave me my instructions before he went to work. I don't know what it's all about, but he says we've got to vote *No* if we don't want to be Orville Freeman's slaves. There – that's done. Sally has such a cough – I've got to get her to the doctor."

There were the middle-aged farmers, men who have made an adequate living for years under government control, but who suddenly had been made aware of the law which had regulated their pursuits for so long: "Do you realize, Jim, that the Secretary of Agriculture is mentioned 138 times in the control law? Think of that – did you ever hear of one man wanting so much power? That Freeman is a Hitler." Useless to tell them that this same statute has been in effect since 1938 or that all legal writing repeats terms *ad infinitum*. The Farm Bureau had made the Washington Power Plot crystal clear to them.

The day wore on. *No – No – No* – "I'd rather starve than lose my liberty." *No – No – No* – "Those farmers in Eastern Colorado are in a bad way – no moisture since March. The government had better get on the ball with disaster aid."

"If this wind keeps up, we'll need help ourselves. I sure was glad to get that government loan the year of the bad drought. But nobody, especially Freeman, is going to tell me how many bushels of wheat I can sell."

No – No – No – "Life says to vote *No* – that's what decided me. If a big, unbiased magazine like that takes an interest in us farmers, we had better do what we can to protect our own rights."

We counted the votes at the end of a long day: *Yes* – 31. *No* – 73. The Farm Bureau had won. My friends and I finished our reports, put away our knitting, and said our cordial good-nights.

As I got into my car, I heard the last remark of the day: "Isn't it a comfort to see that the American people can't be brainwashed after all? Thank goodness for the Farm Bureau!"

MARY LEE FRICHEL

FOREIGN REPORTS

CHILE: *Move or Else*

★ Since 1946 over \$226 million has been pumped into Chile in American aid, making it second only to Brazil as Latin America's biggest beneficiary of US assistance. Recently some of the benefits have begun to trickle down to the ordinary Chilean—one out of four of whom suffers from serious malnutrition—not primarily because of the populist impulses of the Alliance for Progress or the democratic ideals of President Jorge Alessandri but because of the near certainty that the present middle-of-the-road government (which won in 1958 only because the Left was split into three factions) will not be around after next year's Presidential elections unless drastic reforms are undertaken now.

The first warning to Alessandri came in the '58 elections. Then the division of the Left into three factions allowed him to sneak into the Presidential palace—but with only 25 percent of the vote and a narrow lead over the *Frente Revolucionario de Acción Popular*, which comprises the republic's Communists and more extreme Left elements. In April's municipal elections Alessandri got his second notice when the Christian Democrats (anti-Alessandri) proved to be Chile's fastest growing party with 450,000 votes—as against the 580,000 votes cast for the *FRAP*.

Alessandri intends this year to force through a wide-ranging development program for his country's almost stagnant agriculture. Under one scheme 25,000 small farmers are expected to receive low-interest government loans from a fund backed by Washington to the tune of \$10 million. This is to enable them to improve their holdings and mechanize their methods. Under another, money will be poured into the dairy industry to boost output. Plans are also in hand to grow cotton commercially in the northern regions, and to construct grain silos and cold storage plants.

Perhaps most dramatic, however, is the intention to give 12,500 peasants land of their own by the end of 1964. To this end two reconstituted government bodies have been invested with the power to expropriate land, and beginning this year a special account for agricultural reform takes its place in the national budget. Farms eligible for expropriation are those classed as having been abandoned by their owners or those considered inefficiently run. Land expropriated by the government will be paid for over not less than 10 years with one-fifth cash down. It will then be resold to peasants on easy terms with state loans.

Not all of this stems from the present government's sense of insecurity. Part of it comes from the cruel

hardship caused by periodic droughts. And part of it from the prolonged impact of the earthquake disasters some three years ago. The basic motivation, however, behind what agricultural and educational advances have been made under Alessandri still remains the fear of the Left. It is this that has led to the neutralist policy of Chile in respect to Cuba, and the invitation to Yugoslavia's Tito to visit the republic this year. Leftist pressure has caused more than 50 percent of the land to be resettled since 1959.

At the moment it is still too early to say who will prevail in next year's Presidential elections. The safest bet is that it will be one or other of the left-wing groupings. This could mean that in the September, 1964, elections the Socialists and Communists in the *FRAP* coalition will ease home under their leader Allende, placing in power Latin America's first freely chosen Castro-type government.

AFGHANISTAN: *Trade Routes to the West*

★ Thanks to diligent mediation by the Shah of Iran, Pakistan and her tiny landlocked neighbor to the northwest, Afghanistan, have been reconciled and have agreed to renew diplomatic and trade relations, broken off since September, 1961, over a boundary dispute. Since then Afghanistan has had to resort to roundabout trade routes through the Soviet Union and by use of expensive air freight to ship large quantities of karakul skins, cotton and fruits to India and the West.

The dispute between the two Moslem states arose over the question of jurisdiction of six million members of the Pushtun tribe, who have always wandered back and forth over the lands now divided between Pakistan and Afghanistan. More than half the 13 million people living in Afghanistan are Pushtuns, and the government has long insisted that Pushtuns living in Pakistan be permitted to decide for themselves which country they belong with. Pakistan has refused. In 1961, riots led to a break in diplomatic relations. In March of this year, however, Afghanistan went through a quiet revolution, and the new Prime Minister, Dr. Mohammed Yusuf, has taken a far more conciliatory line on the Pushtun question.

His new regime replaces a long line of palace-dominated governments. Dr. Yusuf is the first commoner in years to have been appointed Prime Minister. With a new constitution, electoral reforms and greater freedom of political activity as major objectives, his regime is expected to adopt a constitutional form of government patterned after those of the Western democracies, though Afghanistan is not expected to forsake her historic neutralism.

Man in the Middle

Kong Le

Vientiane, Laos

General Kong Le, commander of some 4,000 "neutralist" troops fighting for their existence in Laos, is small, even by Lao standards, and he makes no display of ceremony as he travels by Soviet-built command car from outpost to outpost of his beleaguered forces in northeastern Laos. Yet the first impression is totally erroneous. One has only to watch him for a moment with his soldiers – the quick military salute, then the easy informality of one who knows his men thoroughly from private to general – to recognize that General Kong Le is a leader.

Americans have consistently misjudged him. Even today, the glare of world publicity shines on Prince Souvanna Phouma, the neutralist prime minister, rather than on the former paratrooper captain whose 1960 coup started the sequence of events leading to today's split of Laos between the neutralist, rightist and pro-Communist factions.

The successive attacks which the Hanoi-supported pro-Communist Pathet Lao have launched since early April against Kong Le's troops on and around the Plain of Jars 110 miles northeast of Vientiane have been characterized as a betrayal of Prince Souvanna Phouma and of his neutralist aims. But Kong Le himself is the one whom the Pathet Lao have most callously betrayed, for until a year ago his men and the Pathet Lao were comrades-in-arms, fighting side by side for what Kong Le thought was to be a genuinely neutral Laos, independent of both Western and of external Communist influence. And the betrayal of Kong Le is in turn a betrayal of the Lao people, for again it is Kong Le far more than Homburg-topped Prince Souvanna Phouma who typifies their hopes.

Laos, political scientists tell one, is a geographical expression rather than a country. Sandwiched between Vietnam (North and South) on the east and Burma and Thailand on the west, China in the north and Cambodia in the south, the country has perhaps two or three million inhabitants, only half of whom are Lao. The Lao are peasants and valley folk. They despise the tribesmen who inhabit the country's rugged mountain spine. They are ruled by a small hierarchy of ruling families – some say 25, others say as many as 100. At the top is the king, the royal family and former ruling princes, the foremost being Boun Oum of Champassak. Then come the Souvannavongs, the Sananikones, the

Norasing, the Voravongs, the Abhays, and so forth – a handful of names repeated in cabinet roster after cabinet roster and in top military and civil service posts. Within this charmed circle, everyone seems to be related to everyone else.

Kong Le comes from none of these recognized families. In addition, he is partly Kha – as the Lao derisively call the aboriginal tribesmen – on his mother's side. He comes from a village in Savannakhet province. Unlike many of his fellow officers, he speaks little French and little English. In the United States he would be called a self-made man. He was picked because of his abilities to receive American-style paratrooper training in the Philippines, and he still wears with pride a belt buckle he received in commemoration of that course.

Even in far-off towns of more sophisticated Thailand (Thai and Lao are as close as Spanish and Portuguese), Kong Le's August, 1960, coup was hailed in outdoor barbershops and along the *klongs* as a Robin Hood-like deed – and the expression, "to pull a Kong Le" has gone into the Thai-Lao vocabulary as an example of a little man from nowhere who suddenly pulls the rug out from under the boss.

A year ago, when Kong Le was still sharing joint headquarters with the Pathet Lao at the former Foreign Legion post of Khang Khay, he gave me the reasons why he had carried out that 1960 coup. Laos, he said, had been fighting a civil war for years. It was not a big war, but it was a long one, and it was accompanied by rivalry between persons and political factions who sought only private gain. "This gave an opportunity for foreigners to interfere."

"As the Lao are peaceful and love independence," he said, "I decided to carry out a coup. I was for strict neutrality. I am not a Communist. I am not an imperialist. I am a neutral. I want to be friends with all who are good, who want to be friends with me."

This simple language characterizes Kong Le's approach to all who meet him. It is one of the secrets of his power to sway peasants, shopkeepers, students and petty clerks to frenzies of enthusiasm. (Still, he is not naïve. In that same interview, he said: "I believe everyone, and I don't believe everyone.") Despite his 30 months' absence from Vientiane, his popularity has not waned. At an Army Day parade in March, a company of his paratroopers from the Plain of Jars received more applause than any of the Vientiane-based rightist units. And a correspondent returning to Vientiane from the Plain of Jars after one violent battle last month, during which the Pathet Lao shelled Kong Le's temporary headquarters, found a cluster of *samlor* (pedicab) drivers at her modest hotel, all wanting to know if General Kong Le was safe.

When Kong Le carried out his August, 1960, coup, he and his paratroopers had been fighting the Pathet

Lao guerrillas for years. Though the scale of the fighting was not large, the paratroopers bore the brunt of it, being dragged around hither and yon, often to raise the prestige of this or that Lao general. Neutralism, therefore, was an appealing and understandable slogan to Kong Le and his men. First and foremost, it meant no more fighting.

Attacks from the Right

For the first few days after the coup, there was peace. The paratroopers fraternized with their former enemies. And it is worth recalling that while the peace may not have lasted, while the Pathets almost certainly would have used it to subvert the neutralists and extend their own influence, the first actual threat came not from them but from American-backed rightists under General Phoumi Nosavan. It was the successive rightist attacks, culminating in the battle of Vientiane in December, 1960, that drove Kong Le progressively into the arms of the Pathet Lao. And, as the world well knows, it was the reversal of American policy and Washington's pledge to support a neutral Laos that finally helped to produce a three-way coalition and the signing of the Geneva accords of July, 1962.

Since then, while the Pathet Lao have ceaselessly sought to bring about a Laos in which the Communists would be favored, Kong Le has remained faithful to the policy of strict neutrality advocated by Prince Souvanna Phouma.

The Pathets acknowledged Kong Le as commander in chief of the Royal Lao Army and Chairman of the Supreme Military Council, a joint neutralist-Pathet Lao group. They addressed him as major general, though Kong Le preferred to call himself a simple captain, and sent him on a tour of Communist nations. But all the time they were working to subvert his forces and to make them Pathet Lao in fact though neutralist in form. They won over a few officers, notably Colonel Deuane, who had been Kong Le's adjutant during the August, 1960, coup and who today calls himself commander of the "true" neutralist forces.

Kong Le himself the Pathets could not persuade. He has told friends that it was while touring one of the satellite countries last summer, that he felt sudden distaste for the regimentation and emptiness of life under the Communists.

On his return to Khang Khay in the fall of last year, he found the Pathets had been working on the youth in Xieng Khouang and other cities the neutralists and the Pathets jointly controlled. His chief aide and confidante, Colonel Ketsana, set to work to counteract Pathet Lao propaganda and achieved some notable successes.

To the Pathet Lao this was intolerable. The Plain of Jars is one of Laos' key strategic areas. Near it is the

sizable city of Xieng Khouang, capital of the province of Xieng Khouang. The Pathets already controlled exclusively the border province of Samneua, but in Xieng Khouang they had to rule through the neutralists. If the neutralists refused to cooperate, the Pathet Lao would have to either push them off the Plain of Jars and out of Xieng Khouang, or be expelled from these areas sooner or later by the neutralists. Yet it was embarrassing for the Communists to move openly against a leader as popular as Kong Le. They decided first to try to starve out his forces. They began to cut down on supplies trucked in for the neutralists from North Vietnam – especially on gasoline. Kong Le appealed to Souvanna Phouma, who in turn appealed to the Americans. The latter arranged to send in rice, gasoline and other relief goods by air. But the Pathets and a company of Pathet-influenced neutralists shot down the first relief plane just as it was about to land on the Plain of Jars November 27.

Two months later, on February 9 this year, Colonel Ketsana was assassinated. Kong Le told reporters at the time, "We know who was responsible for this deed," and moved out of the Khang Khay headquarters he had hitherto shared with the Pathet Lao. Since then, his command post has been a tin-roofed shack on the Plain of Jars airfield, except when, as at present, shell-fire forces him to retire eight kilometers to the Muong Phan emergency airstrip.

On March 30, after another neutralist official had been assassinated, Kong Le issued a comprehensive indictment of the Pathet Lao. Then came open Pathet Lao attacks on the neutralists and Pathet Lao capture of Xieng Khouang, Khang Khay (where Kong Le had maintained a battalion after his own departure in February) and other principal towns on and adjacent to the Plain of Jars.

Three years ago, when Kong Le's men were being attacked by rightist General Phoumi's forces, he had to cooperate with the Pathet Lao. Today, the tables are turned. It is the Pathets who are attacking Kong Le, and General Phoumi whose Meo guerrillas have moved down from their mountaintops to form a protective screen for the neutralists.

Once again, as in 1960, one feels that both the rightists and the Pathets are trying to obscure the real issues. In 1960 the rightists lumped the neutralists together with the Pathets and claimed that Laos was in effect divided into two warring camps – the anti-Communists, meaning themselves, and the Communists, meaning their enemies.

Today, the Pathets charge in the same way that Laos has been polarized. On one side stand the Pathets and their allies the "true neutralists" – the 400-odd former Kong Le adherents whom they have been able to subvert. On the other side they place the "reaction-

ary neutralists" and General Phoumi's rightists.

General Phoumi, for his part, has been very discreet, but one gathers he is not altogether averse to this kind of labeling. For one thing, if Laos is polarized, he could again hope for massive American assistance as the undisputed leader of the rightist camp, to whom Kong Le and his men would be a mere appendage.

The one man whose position has remained consistent has been Kong Le. I visited him briefly with other reporters at the Muong Phan airstrip recently, and found his hopes for a neutral Laos unflagging. The Pathet Lao still obviously fear him – not so much because of his military forces, which are not large, but because despite all their attempts to tar him with the "reactionary" brush, he remains a genuine folk hero, a man around whom legends cluster – legends which the Communists once sought to utilize for their own benefit, but can do so no longer.

Kong Le is perforce a lonely man. The Communists could not win him over. But the things he stands for, over the long run, are an equally great threat to the comfortable, venal, established upper class in Vientiane. As the struggle on the Plain of Jars continues, there will probably be an increasing effort by the rightist forces to downgrade Kong Le and make their own role more prominent.

Kong Le's problem is to accept needed logistical support, without accepting rightist troops and rightist control. As he remained independent of the Pathet Lao, while taking Communist help in the days he was fighting the rightists, so today he must be independent of the rightists, though receiving their support. A greater understanding in the United States of Kong Le the man and the essential role he plays would help him in this battle for military and political survival of an independent, unified, neutral Laos. TAKASHI OKA

Slicing Up the Cuban Problem

by Roger Fisher

In these pages four weeks ago Charles Burton Marshall asked for more candor from the Administration on Cuba. Candor is not a policy, but it might help. A good place to begin would be a candid discussion of what the United States can expect to accomplish and how it proposes to do it.

For the past two years we have identified the toppling of the Castro regime as our minimum demand. We will not settle for anything less. This is a fine moral position; it is also fine for domestic political consumption so long as the President's opponents do not push him too hard to produce results. But by defining the issue in these terms we are not likely to change much in Cuba. Presumably the 200,000 Cubans most unhappy with the Castro regime are those who have left. Many within Cuba most ready to rise up against Castro tipped their hands at the time of the Bay of Pigs. Although there is economic distress in Cuba, all indications are that if a plebiscite were held today Castro would win.

If we want, therefore, to use our economic and political pressure to alter the situation, we will want to

break up the issue of "Communism in Cuba" into discreet and more modest issues. The United States, which thinks of itself as pragmatic and practical, and which has so respected the effectiveness of Soviet "salami tactics" in Berlin and elsewhere, should be able to slice up the big disagreements into smaller ones, spread them out chronologically in some order of priority, and go after them one by one. How might this be done?

Separate things the US would like to have happen

– with respect to the Soviet Union:

1. withdrawal of Soviet troops;
2. no base for Soviet submarines or military "trawlers."

– with respect to Latin America:

3. no shipment of arms from Cuba;
4. no training for export of militant revolutionaries;
5. some form of OAS inspection of a nuclear-free Latin America.

– with respect to the United States:

6. some steps toward compensation of property taken by Castro;
7. acceptance by Cuba of general international obligations.

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— inside Cuba:

8. free speech and other civil liberties;
9. elections;
10. public assertion of an independent ideology, drawing say, from Jefferson and Lincoln as well as Marx and Lenin.

From the point of view of Cubans, such a list though imposing is by no means as threatening as a demand for unconditional surrender. To suggest that we will cease all pressure against Cuba if the government will kindly collapse seems futile. On the other hand, a suggestion that we would cease *some* pressure if the Cuban Government would yield on *some* of the above points, does not. Many Cubans, in and out of the government, might prefer playing a more independent role *vis-à-vis* Russia than is now possible. There are certainly some things which Cuba would like the United States to do.

Separate things Cuba might like to have the US do:

1. reduce military threat;
2. stop overflights;
3. stop the secondary boycott;
4. permit food sales to Cuba;
5. permit other sales to Cuba;
6. permit purchases from Cuba;
7. permit US travel to Cuba;
8. renew diplomatic relations at the chargé level;
9. establish full diplomatic relations;
10. support full OAS status for Cuba;
11. purchase sugar (small amounts; large amounts; at the world price; above the world price);
12. negotiate about Guantanamo;
13. provide technical assistance;
14. provide economic aid.

The United States has trump cards. Some of these can perhaps be played only once, but our generally dominant position is not used up by being used. It might be possible, for example, to make given purchases of sugar conditioned upon some action by Castro and later purchases conditioned upon further action.

Any proposal that the United States break up the issues which divide us from Cuba and try to deal with some of them separately is met with three arguments: (1) negotiation with Castro would mean a loss of face, it would be appeasement and would invite Communist revolutions elsewhere in Latin America; (2) an accommodation is premature; and (3) Cuba would be unwilling to yield on any significant point. Let's examine all three of these statements.

When, during the latter part of October, 1962, Washington was keenly interested in the removal from Cuba of particular Soviet weapons, it prudently stopped talking about ousting Communism from the Western

hemisphere and concentrated on the removal of 42 weapons. When this narrow and specific objective was attained, we were prepared to relax the quarantine and other military pressure. One reason for the success of the venture lay in its limited and specific character. When we wished to obtain the freedom of the prisoners captured at the Bay of Pigs and of others incarcerated in Cuba we separated those aims from other outstanding issues and bargained with food and medicine, and with a few Cubans held in this country. Letting tankers through our naval quarantine, lifting the quarantine with Castro still in power, releasing a few Cubans charged with crime in this country, and shipping food and medicine to Cuba could all be called appeasement, but they have not been called that, even by Senator Goldwater.

In our dealings with Cuba, as elsewhere, the value of a particular exchange depends upon what one gets for what one gives. Bargaining could take place privately through informal discussions of the kind which produced the prisoner release. Alternatively, such exploration could take place openly. There could, for example, be a US statement that it would cease all pressure for a third-country boycott once Soviet troops were out.

The argument that now is not the appropriate time to try to moderate Cuban behavior must be looked at with skepticism. As trade with the Soviet bloc develops into a more regular pattern Cuba will become less interested in the raising of our economic barriers. As political ostracism continues indefinitely the outsider becomes willing to do less rather than more for the privilege of being invited back. Our non-recognition policy toward the Soviet Union and toward China after their respective revolutions suggests that as policies harden the promise of diplomatic acceptance becomes a less effective lever.

The final argument against exploring what might be done by identifying and pursuing separately our several objectives within Cuba is that Cuba would be unwilling to yield on any significant point since it is a Communist state and can be expected to look at its relations with the United States in a total way.

Why not put this theory to the test? Cuba might, for instance, be willing to accommodate our desire that it not provide the Soviet Union with bases for submarines or other military vessels. By satisfying us that the "fishing port" was really for fish, Cuba could give us a significant gain without losing face. Castro's interest in the economic welfare of his people is certainly not diametrically opposed to ours.

If the United States were to indicate that it would be willing to relax some economic pressure once Soviet military forces and bases were removed, Cuban nationalists, inside or outside the government, might more readily oppose the Soviet military presence. Or if the

United States made some such offer as to accept limitations upon – or even close down – the Guantanamo base once all Soviet military personnel had been withdrawn one could expect to develop a significant division of opinion within Cuba. A government which insisted upon keeping Soviet military forces under such conditions would be in more serious domestic trouble than one which simply refused to topple. As we in the West know, having learned from Soviet behavior, small and apparently reasonable demands are far more divisive than efforts admittedly directed at overthrowing a government.

To say that the United States should not compromise with Communism in the Western hemisphere is probably to say that one is not terribly concerned with what is going on in Cuba. It is to suggest that we can afford to waste our significant economic and political sanctions by using them in pursuit of an objective so broad that it cannot be attained. In these circumstances we exert no effective pressure whatever against the Cuban Government because the price of yielding is made even greater than the price of continuing on its present course. On the other hand, without abandoning our

long-run goals we can take one step at a time. Either the worst aspects of the situation would be improved or there would be a tendency to create greater division within Cuba and less support for the Castro regime.

What I am suggesting here is not a set of specific tactics, but an approach. In today's Washington the approach will convey an air of unreality; it seems to fit in neither with the disposition of the Administration nor with domestic politics. But the objectives the US now avows have an equal unreality in Havana, and that is where we want things to happen. Foreign policy goals may have to be tempered to fit what is domestically feasible, but should hardly be selected in the first instance on the basis of what will be easiest to sell to the voters at home.

A country which is dissatisfied with the world the way it is and wants to change it is going to have to recognize that in international affairs, as in domestic, working for specific changes which implement a big principle is more effective than pursuing a big goal all at once. At least that is the proposition which ought to be debated. At present it is not being debated either outside the Administration or, apparently, within it.

Pan-Africanism Comes of Age

by Russell Howe

Addis Ababa

It is the notion of collective security – and, in modern times, collective economic security – that drives nations into partnership; so probably no capital in Africa was more suited for the 30-nation conference last month of African kings, presidents and premiers than Addis Ababa, where the principle of collective security was lost in 1936 – and consequently won, if not for all time, at least for the age we live in. With Morocco, South Africa and Togo absent, the remaining powers, grouping well over 200 million people, met, argued, and finally agreed.

As things were to work out, all points of view were to prevail. But at the preliminary foreign ministers' meeting, where the early bargaining took place, the conference began by edging toward disaster.

First, some countries objected to bringing in the states on the Arab shore of the great sand ocean which divides the real Africa from the countries of Mediterranean culture. How African, asked Sierra Leone's

John Karefa-Smart, is Egypt, which now calls itself once more the United Arab Republic, a federation two-thirds Asian? Egypt for its part was very anxious to join whatever might come out of Addis Ababa.

Ghana's foreign minister appeared to be under orders to create diversions, presumably to block the talks. He peppered the meeting with offbeat proposals, such as admitting Russian observers.

Nigeria's volatile foreign minister Jaja Wachuku proposed that nothing be finally decided at Addis Ababa: the foreign ministers should meet again at the end of the year and prepare a final charter which the heads of state and government could sign at another meeting in 1964. The Senegalese foreign minister agreed. Ethiopia's acting foreign minister Ketema Yifru replied that if the conference ended in nothing more than routine resolutions about residual colonialism it would be worse than if no conference were held at all.

The 30 delegation leaders then began to arrive, bring-

ing about 1,000 people. Nasser and Nkrumah were accompanied by over a score of bodyguards. President Philibert Tsiranana of Madagascar and Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast brought their wives, who brought chambermaids and ladies-in-waiting. Some presidents brought physicians, other European advisers. Nkrumah brought his chief of staff and "everyone else who might seize power while he's away," a delegation member smilingly observed. President Ibrahim Abboud of the Sudan brought his Lord Chamberlain and his butler. Few thought to bring secretaries, thus placing a heavy burden on the Ethiopian secretariat.

Over 300 legitimate pressmen, plus the fauna of spurious journalists with oddly unprofessional-looking cameras which has become a characteristic of African conferences, helped to fill the eagle's-nest capital, 8,300 feet up, famous for the surpassing beauty, even temper and enthusiastic promiscuity of its women. Almost no one wore tribal dress, though President Fulbert Youlou of Brazzaville, a defrocked priest, still sports his Dior cassock, and Nkrumah's new fashion gimmick is a Mao Tse-tung jacket in black serge, which neatly covers a bullet-proof vest. For the most part, it looked like any international gathering. Pan-Africanism had come of age.

Emperor Haile Selassie, king of kings of 23 million Ethiopians, was for "building [unity] from the top," finding what President Joseph Kasavubu of the Congo

was to describe as the "lowest common denominators" of agreement, and getting everyone in. For this purpose, his cabinet and advisers had produced an Addis Ababa Charter. President Houphouët-Boigny could be expected, delegates thought, to seek a middle path. As leader of the 33 million population, 13-nation Afro-Malagasy Union, or UAM (which groups most of French Africa and had nearly half the "votes" at the Addis Ababa meeting), he knew that he and his fellow leaders could not go home without a charter. The derision of their peoples would be as great as that of the outside world. Compromise was necessary.

Determined to save "His" conference, the Lion of Judah rose on the Wednesday afternoon, May 22, to plead for a charter to be signed before the weekend. President Tubman of Liberia and Abboud of the Sudan, who also spoke on the first day, were less committed.

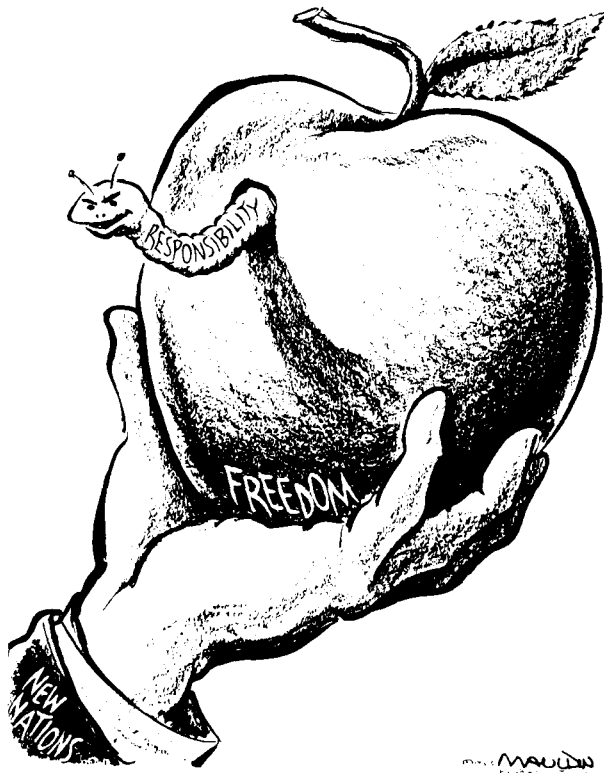
For two more days, the public addresses droned on; but on Friday the conference began to shift into higher gear, when Nigeria's Tafawa Balewa swung his delegation into line behind the Emperor's call for a charter embodying "the things we can all agree on." Nkrumah attacked the idea of a "weak" charter, called for a single all-African government, and blazed away at the United States for "enslaving South America" and stealing Africa's gold. But even while Nkrumah spoke, a committee of foreign ministers was drafting a "synthesis" charter. Nasser, who also spoke Friday, was mild and philosophical, agreed *not* to show his Asian-ness by raising the Israel issue, and supported Haile Selassie. Ben Bella committed Algeria "in advance" to the charter which "definitely" would be signed. Rwanda's foreign minister and the presidents of Chad, Upper Volta, Tanganyika and Mali spoke for the charter.

A notable speech was that of President Modibo Keita of Mali. The radical ruler of a semi-Marxist state, he advocated collaboration with former colonizing powers, pointed out that although colonialism "divided" Africa it also "created nations," and admitted that his experiments with socialism had been "a lesson for me and my friends."

Houphouët-Boigny received the conference's only standing ovation after a careful, conciliatory address ending with a call that a charter be adopted "unanimously, by acclamation," giving Africa "transitory forms of association." He scorned "the witch-doctors among us who believe they have a talent and a magic wand to make differences between us disappear."

On Saturday, a single, stormy, 17-hour closed session, finishing at 2 a.m. Sunday, produced agreement on a charter and a number of resolutions. The mavericks and stragglers were brought to heel. The meeting was rushed against a deadline of aircraft departures that presidents refused to change.

The Organization of African Unity accords equality



"It's a Package Deal."

to all members, regardless of size, agrees to respect sovereignty and outlaws interference in internal affairs. There are to be periodic meetings of the Assembly of Heads of Government and "Security" Council of Ministers. The ancillary organizations include a vague "Defense Board" and a Commission of Conciliation, Arbitration and Mediation – to which were referred Somalia's border claims on Ethiopia, Kenya and French Somali Coast, and the problem of how to restore representative government in Togo. Inspired by the assassination of President Olympio of Togo, there is a clause outlawing subversion and the change of governments by force. Asked what the other states would do if Ghana did not close down its Bureau of African Affairs, with its subversion school for members of opposition parties from neighbor states, the Nigerian foreign minister said: "We should have to take diplomatic action."

The Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity is to be purely an administrator; he cannot call special meetings of the council of foreign ministers, so these will be both difficult and slow to arrange. The secretariat is to be provisionally – and probably permanently – in Addis Ababa: the first Secretary-General will be an Ethiopian. The OAU rejects the pre-independence dreams of Pan-African confederations, or a United States of Africa: it is a loose "umbrella" institution, rather like the Organization of American States, mostly concerned with a unified African policy on major issues, and some over-all theoretical direction in certain technical fields.

Nkrumah under Attack

A feature of the meeting was the isolation of Nkrumah. Touré of Guinea and Keita of Mali – former allies – joined with Cameroon's Ahmadou Ahidjo and several other delegates in a tongue-lashing often so fierce that Nkrumah presumably only stayed in the conference room in order not to emphasize his isolation further. For the eccentric, semi-mystic Ghanaian leader, the experience must have been traumatic. Touré, sitting with Nkrumah on one side, Houphouët-Boigny and Tubman on the other, warmly shook the hands of his right-hand neighbors, ignored Nkrumah. The Nigerian foreign minister Balewa walked past Nkrumah's proffered hand with a glassy gaze. Almost everybody belabored the subject of "subversion," of "African colonialism," of "black imperialism." One delegate decried Nkrumah's pet theory of the African personality as "an expression of the inferiority complex." Houphouët-Boigny, incensed by Ghana's role in the Togo plot and in the unsuccessful bid against his own life which led to 13 executions, said: "We must have a clear and unequivocal attitude about . . . assassi-

SUMMER SCHEDULE

*During the summer months,
The New Republic will not appear on:*

*July 27 August 10
August 24 September 7*

*Weekly publication will be resumed with
the issue dated September 14*

nations, murders organized from outside or with the complicity of other countries, to overthrow a regime in the interests of a few adventurers." He condemned "dreams of hegemony which belong to other continents and past ages." A Nigerian journalist wittily took one of Nkrumah's phrases to scribble on the press-room announcement board a paraphrase of the Ghanaian leader's isolation: "All Africans are one – but some Africans are more one than others."

The conference was notable, too, for some of the features that were missing. If a speaker could urge "realism, not sentimentality," and condemn the African racial approach to political issues (there are, of course, plenty of black Verwoerds in Africa today), he could also, like Nasser, depict foreign aid as the advanced world's "obligation," with no obligations – "strings" – in return. Appeals for brotherhood and violence would come in the same speech. The Africans' sense of history is appallingly narrow. In all the talk of unity, no one asked why the Bank of Ethiopia would not accept the currencies of Egypt, Somalia, Guinea, Congo, Ghana, Burundi, Rwanda, Mali and several other participating delegations.

There was an astonishing absence of self-criticism. No one noted the cheering fact that Africa is growing up in a favorable period of major-nation permissiveness, and in an age when liberalism and humanitarianism are the average attitudes, not the virtuous exception. Instead, perhaps because it is easier to unite people against something, even intelligent speakers like Nyerere were talking of the "enemies of African unity." He did not, however, manage to name any countries. An abnormal amount of time was devoted to flogging the almost dead horse of colonialism, and by some to the platform myth of neo-colonialism; no examples of this are ever given either. But despite the nostalgia for the pre-independence spirit of sloganeering and the search for pity, the conference ended on a note which showed that most African leaders know that today Africa is responsible for its own shortcomings, even if it does not care to talk about them publicly.

People of the Slums

I - Relocation or Renewal?

by Joan Colebrook

This is being written in Boston, where \$225 million of public funds has been earmarked for urban renewal, and where the wrecker's balls are swinging to and fro, battering at unwanted walls. We can be sure that buildings will fall, but the many-million-dollar question remains – what kind of city will rise in their stead? How is this demolition to bring life to a slum? And where is the "idea" which will shape such a great opportunity?

In one Boston area slated for immediate demolition and eventual renewal, everything has proceeded according to plan: alarming statistics have been quoted, public hearings have served their purpose, the area has been declared "decadent and substandard," notices have been sent out to tenants that the "city" is now their landlord. Like scared and bewildered animals, the dispossessed are being flushed out of their holes.

One can see how necessary it was, for it is as if a sharp knife had sliced off the front of the blocks of houses. Sagging stairways are revealed, desolate hallways redolent of dirt and urine, mysterious rooms kept by seldom-appearing tenants and locked by huge padlocks. The houses have been cut up into inadequate apartments. Plaster is cracked, window sashes are rotting, heat is inadequate, rats abound. The repair man from the tenant office (each area slated for demolition has an office set up to receive tenant's rent) has had to go out twice in one day to see what he can do about a flooded basement apartment, where Mrs. Alice Lacey, the half-blind Negro woman who exists on Disability, is still crying, a patch of dirty cloth screwed up in her hand. Down the street comes "Sweet Betsy" – who lives in a nearby attic and whose private traumas are now the public property of us all. Large, unbuttoned, her rope of greyish-brown hair hanging down her back, she seems to have thrown an old coat over her nightgown and rushed out into the street without pausing to think, gathering up on the way a package of cream cheese and a handful of saltines. She is eating as she walks – "I didn't even have breakfast," she tells

me reproachfully, and her large vague eyes express a primitive terror, a fear not quite explained by her complaint that the pipes have been leaking in her bathroom.

"I'll get a house – don't worry," she declares defiantly, "oh, I'll get a house. That place is not fit to live in. Not a moment's rest to be got, dear." Her face crumples up, and one knows that her endless story will go on and on – the leaking pipes, the frayed window-ropes, the stopped-up bath, the delinquent boys at the mailbox. But there is always that sudden shift. "See this pulse in my throat?" she questions tearfully, pulling further open her already gaping coat, "I showed it to them in there. 'They' could see it," ('They' are the employees in the tenant office); "it's beating too fast, dear." She nods mournfully, as if now that we see the full significance of her need, some action must be forthcoming.

Urban renewal means that we are to tear down, along with most of the buildings in the demolition area, the house which "Sweet Betsy" complains of. But at the same time it means that we are to get rid of – "relocate" is the word – "Sweet Betsy" herself, whose constant trips to the rent office to speak of pipes, rats or baths are really motivated by a long dead hope that somebody cares about her. This old Ophelia of the slums is constantly on the verge of senile confusion. But through this confusion there has penetrated, like a ray of light, the certainty that her lot will be bettered. She tells the social workers that she has found, alone and unaided, the "perfect" apartment. She reports that it has a refrigerator (at present she has none, and she keeps her food in an unsanitary condition on the kitchen shelf), and that it costs \$80 a month (Betsy's total income per month is \$115). We, the social workers, point out that if she pays \$80 a month for rent and something for medicine and fares to the hospital, she will have little more than \$5 a week for food – but she counters this by saying that she already pays "extra" for electricity. It is clear that each trip to the rent office and the relocation staff, has little to do with her apartment; rather it is the temporary coming-alive of one of the "disadvantaged" (Planner Catherine Bauer Wurster's phrase).

We have many "disadvantaged" in the core of our

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cities. The slum pattern is worsening in almost all of our major urban areas. This is partly because middle-class whites are flocking to the suburbs (Paul Goodman's deadly dormitories), and Southern Negroes, Puerto Ricans, poor whites and unemployed are taking their place in the heart of the city. These in-migrants who cannot fend for themselves, psychologically, culturally or financially are susceptible to illness, crime, exploitation and government aid, so that they swell the hard core of problem families already in the area. This has been well publicized and documented, as has the consequent swelling of the racial ghetto and the creation of new ones. Buffalo, N.Y., saw 13,000 whites move out to the suburbs, even while 14,000 Negroes moved into the city. In Boston, during the last 10 years, the Negro population in the two major ghetto areas, Roxbury-North Dorchester and the South End, has increased until it is half the entire Negro population of the state. In these areas, sometimes slap-bang-up against the civic centers, juvenile delinquency is endemic, crime and prostitution increase, the health situation is poor, embattled schools report a constant turnover and increase in drop-outs. The slums are not only getting bigger, they are getting tougher.

The solution is said to be urban renewal, and it is true that urban renewal tends to bring new high-income housing and new business into the city. But this is only one of its tendencies. With the decision to renew an area and the subsequent human upheaval, immense social problems are laid bare, problems which are not on the agenda and do not fit neatly into the calendar set up by the authorities. Although the Declaration of the National Housing Policy of the 81st Congress clearly stated its purpose – to remedy the serious housing shortage, to eliminate substandard housing through the clearance of slums, to provide a suitable environment for every American family – these noble aims seem to have been lost in the shuffle.

Farewell to Community

Henry James described American cities in 1910 as "heaped industrial battlefields" and he worried about their lack of organic social relations. From that time on, the dwarfing of the individual proceeded far beyond the architectural. The impersonality of the grid-iron block was quadrupled by the high-rise apartment and intensified still further by the break-up of the family, the disorganization of the community, and the mobility of the population. That which conserves and nourishes in cities became so rare that whole generations failed to experience it. Perhaps it is this arbitrary disappearance of community, which explains the delinquency Attorney General Robert Kennedy says will become "almost unbeatable" by 1970.

Environment is obviously the crux of the matter, but we must ask ourselves to what extent urban renewal can deal with this question of environment, and to what extent it is simply pushing problems around, rearranging them in the wake of new highways and million dollar schools. It is admirable that the public conscience has determined to eradicate these gray areas, but it is wise to be skeptical as the forces of change struggle with their Herculean task. Housing and social health cannot be separated. In these grim and unattractive slums, consolidated as they have been over the last 20 years, social and educational aid is now needed upon a large and imaginative scale, not only to be in keeping with democratic values, but to save upon an immense social loss. Welfare agencies, with inadequate funds, and inadequate concepts, have long worked against heavy odds, and have almost too great an investment to realize that they are trying to "social work" what has already been "socially worked." For beyond the bad housing, the crime and the pathology these areas have been cut off from the life-giving flow of world ideas, from leadership, from the source of movement which is so important a part of the city picture. Here in the cultural ghetto there is an enormous and vast ignorance – an ignorance which cannot be dispelled by a handful of unsupported social workers. In such areas we find few professionals, few teachers, few skilled workmen and few self educators. Ideas do not circulate. Civic inertia abounds and civic knowhow is limited. No traveler comes to these slums (as he comes to the university communities) intent on lecturing, sharing experiences, leaving behind fertilizing ideas. New-comers here are generally bewildered strangers, hiding alcoholics, criminals in flight or the needy relatives of residents. There is a dearth of bookshops, a dearth of decent places to eat, a dearth of flourishing business enterprise – but likewise a plethora of liquor stores, pool rooms, Rescue Missions, second-hand shops.

At the Settlement House, a little girl of six is having an art class and she paints innumerable dark houses running wet scarlet into them and explaining that this is "blood vomited by old men who sleep on the stairs." A promiscuous teenage girl tells her counselor that her seducer has seduced her two sisters before her. Fatalistically she sees her own seduction as inevitable. A boy who broke the legs of a Puerto Rican with a baseball bat explains to the worker that the cop didn't press him because the cop "didn't like Spics either." In all three cases the narrow knowledge becomes truth, the *credo quia absurdum* of the slums. Doorways are not just doorways, they are places where old drunks creep to sleep at night. Seduction is familial. Racial prejudice is as much part of the policeman as of the teenager.

If this "heathen-like darkness" is to be combated, it would be cheaper and more effective to try to do it by

planting in the environment varied intellectual and human resources than it would be to change the whole physical face of the slums. The urban renewal law expressed a determination to provide a "decent environment" for every American family, yet it is only too evident that commercial interests, real-estate groups and big contractors have found a ready source of profit in the physical change-over, and that the idea of urban renewal (in the real sense of "renewal") has been subverted. It is not that new housing should not be built, but rather that the renewers should so concentrate upon an area as to have some reasonable hope of solving problems where they stand. Instead of getting rid of the troublesome human elements, the chronic problem families, the drifting alcoholics and the anonymous poor, the planners should plan around them, and import new residents to balance them. Unintelligent dispersal inevitably means that the more helpless relocatees contribute to bad housing elsewhere, whereas holding this element in their neighborhoods would mean that substandard housing could be, if gradually, eliminated. That a slum might grow slowly into health by spot-building and by the infusion of curative and educational elements is a concept opposed to *laissez-faire* dispersal; but it is a concept which has not yet been tried out. No single slum area in the country has so far been subjected to such an experiment.

New Ghettos for Old Slums

One thing seems to have been forgotten, and this applies as much to American cities in general as it does to slums: however varied the patterns suggested by planners – the galaxy, the dispersed, the core, the star, the ring – the requirements of *living* must remain somewhat the same. Citizens need adequate leadership, protection by law, material supplies, intercommunication, cultural advantages and a manageable world. This last most of all, for the cult of bigness oppresses. Part of the early trend toward the suburbs was to search for the small village again, for the community in which the human being could play an effective role. In the slums where the social picture is one of disorganization, the people are more than ever separated from the factors which control their destiny. "Planning," while it provides us with buildings, is apt to do away with what little social organization exists, rather than to strengthen the concept of neighborhood.

Our government has voted millions for slum clearance and for the elimination of substandard housing, and not only have new slums developed but new ghettos also. Charles Abrams commented in the January, 1963, issue of *Commentary* that, "With the advent of urban renewal after 1949 . . . racial discrimination with federal blessing took on an additional form

in the wholesale eviction of Negroes from footholds they had established in the cities. Negroes constituted more than 70 percent of those displaced from their homes to make room for more expensive housing, and a high percentage of the remaining 30 percent were Puerto Ricans, orientals or other minorities."

In most cities the dispossessed low-income and minority families have had no recourse but to move into nearby marginal areas. An excellent example of this forced moving was found in Woodlawn in Chicago, when an area built for 25,000 residents suddenly found itself bulging with 82,000. It is symptomatic that in the present exodus from Washington Park in Boston, Negro families are already beginning to give new directions to the North Dorchester ghetto, and in New Haven, supposedly the "pride of planning," the old ghetto at Oak Street has been born anew at Dixswell Avenue. The Rhode Island Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights says in its annual (1963) report that discrimination against Negroes in Rhode Island is worse than it has ever been, while urban renewal programs have much intensified Providence ghettos. Although it must be recognized that the reason behind all this is more than racial, it may be considerably harder to disperse the new ghettos than to disperse the old slums.

In general low-income and minority families have been displaced without adequate choice of new housing. As one example among many, the West End Renewal Project in Boston displaced 3,075 families who paid a median gross rental of \$43 monthly. Although the Authority stated that the families displaced would have first preference in the new dwelling units, rentals for the new apartments were \$175 to \$250 a month.

In the specific local situation (Boston), 5,300 families and 3,800 lodging house residents, and 2,300 business firms will be moved (Boston's urban renewal program is described as the "biggest and boldest" in the country). In Boston's Washington Park, 1,200 of the 1,689 families to be dislodged will be Negro; in the South End also, non-whites will be numerous among the relocatees (2,000 families and 3,000 roomers). Since these two areas comprise some of the worst housing and lowest incomes in the city area, rehousing will be an immense problem. In Castle Square – a demolition area in the South End of Boston – 50 percent of the families want rentals from \$25-\$50 a month, and only 28 percent of these "relocatee" families have incomes of more than \$70 a week.

Can one seriously feel that to remove the poor, the minorities, the insecure, without adequate low income housing for them to inhabit, will cut down on welfare costs, school drop-outs, delinquency, racial hatred? Especially since their wanderings are unlikely to cease with one relocation?

Through June of 1960, almost one in ten displaced families in the nation (13 percent of non-white families) was officially reported relocated in substandard housing. More than half of the displaced families were found eligible for public housing and only 18 percent were so relocated. Although experience in Boston is limited so far, the evidence to date indicates that many displaced families have either relocated in substandard housing or in areas designated for redevelopment. Some families have already moved two or three times. No comprehensive study of the housing market in the Boston area has been made in recent years, but recent US Census data has been evaluated by Helen Kistin in an appendix to a Brief to the Supreme Court, January, 1962: "There is a severe shortage of sound low-rental housing . . . the gross rental vacancy in the city of Boston in 1960 was extremely low. . . . In 1960 there were 3,600 state-owned and 9,844 federally-aided housing units in Boston. Of these only 14 percent were occupied by non-whites. The Public Housing Authority reports that the average number of certified applicants for Public Housing from 1955-60 has been 4,600. The turnover was only 1,990 units in 1959 - so that one can see that it would have taken two years to place current applicants."

Yet the Boston Redevelopment Authority has not requested - except for the elderly - any new low-income housing, and it is known that local real-estate interests are opposed to such building.

Apart from what lies behind these facts and figures, however, there is a lamentable lack of "concept" operating in planner's circles. What has happened is that everyone sees or has seen in "urban renewal" what they most want to see - the politician sees politics, the builder buildings, the socially conscious social action.

For instance Boston's Mayor Collins has chosen "planning with people" as his slogan; yet neighborhood groups in Allston, Cambridge, Charlestown and Winthrop have rejected the kind of planning offered by the redevelopment authorities. This makes for complicated politics! Builders naturally are out to get hold of cheap city land, and in some cases (for instance that of Allston) the renewal project seems to have been "dreamed up" for the builder's convenience. Social workers see "social action" in urban renewal. They hold constant conferences about "delinquency," "housing," and "alcoholism" - yet they too are forced to fit their plans to the Procrustean bed built by the planners. Obviously they cannot help clients who are to be scattered to the four winds!

Some urban neighborhoods contain almost all of the minorities, all the indigent aged, all the fatherless families on government aid, all the alcoholics. Similarly there are neighborhoods, rich not only in stable families but in educators, leaders and professionals. One

might argue that in a private enterprise system one cannot forcibly balance and integrate neighborhoods. If this is so, then neither can we forcibly "relocate." The one power suggests the other. But is it so? The concept of "real" renewal is exciting enough to stimulate the imagination of both planners and neighbors, and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that if creative leadership were found, the wall of the cultural ghetto would fall of its own weight.

An Outline for Action

Perhaps some kind of brief attempt should be made to outline here the possible action which would spring from an honest desire to eliminate slums. A rough chart might be made as follows:

1. *A process of leisurely renewal, non-threatening to the residents, involving guarantees of housing in that same community to a large majority of those displaced, and at rents they could afford.*

The principal emphasized here would be that of dealing with the neighborhood "as is," although with a conscious effort to implant new leadership, new sources of employment and training, and new education. This negates the idea that the planner has the right to displace residents at will, or to dispose freely of neighborhood land. A process of leisurely renewal would naturally allow not only for some kind of community-controlled housing, but also could crack down (perhaps by rent control) on the host of speculators who flock to urban renewal's rich banquet. It would give the community time to set up, with the government's help, permanent community funds, and would undoubtedly cost less than the present grandiose but ineffective methods. It would return confidence to those fearful of final ejection, so that they would continue to rehabilitate their houses. It would assist the education of local leadership, reform of voting districts, enforcement of civil rights and improvement of education. Above all it would give the country an opportunity to see what is being done, to look at it and to criticize it sanely.

2. *Dispersal. Setting up city-wide publicity in all areas to concern the nation with accepting and welcoming a certain percentage of minority groups and a certain percentage of those groups (for instance old age groups) which would normally go into public housing.*

If communities could be convinced that their neighborhoods were not going to be swamped by minorities, some progress might be made. If the President's new non-discriminatory housing order were fully implemented in public projects (many of them are blatantly lily-white) this would help disperse minorities. Dispersal should include also the building of halfway houses for ex-prisoners, alcoholics and delinquents, in

order to try to control the constant merry-go-round between slums and nearby prisons. During the process of urban renewal, these individuals and families often relocate themselves voluntarily in the nearest anonymous run-down housing, thus helping to create new slums and removing themselves from social aid.

3. *Safeguarding and implanting diversity. We could give present businesses in renewal areas an option to stay and develop afresh, but making it possible for them to do this by long-term loans, encouragement, and advice.*

Many of the businesses swept away by urban renewal are small and humble and therefore need protection. The spearheading of new small businesses which would involve themselves with the community in some way – for instance movie houses, coffee shops, ethnic eating houses, clubs, halfway houses, small industries, specialized markets – would be a valuable aid to community building. The reconstituted community should be a place where non-commercial enterprises could pay small rents.

Such an outline leaves out much of what is now taking place; for instance, unnecessary demolition, new highway construction which neither solves the traffic problem nor helps the neighborhood, the building of supermarkets, huge shopping districts, super-hospitals, super-universities and super-agencies. It also leaves out the wholesale, inhuman removal of people.

People Live There

It is not enough to build better hospitals, if these strengthen the hospital world but weaken the community by eating up community space and putting up "Keep off the Grass" signs. The hospital should build its clinics and student houses *within* the community, and share its knowledge and its curative processes. It is not enough to build more settlement houses or gymnasiums if no change is made in other civilizing factors. It is not enough to have special health departments in our cities if, in an area with a high rate of venereal disease, the department staff does not have access to the high-school students, and if attempts are not made to change the sexual mores. The whole scope of educational reform in deprived areas needs to be imaginatively enlarged. We no longer live in the time of Jane Addams when social workers went into the slums to light tiny lamps of hope and courage.

Contrary to the general impression, slums are full of people with potential. Such failing citizens as "Sweet Betsy" are balanced by others such as "Maggie" and "Maria." Maggie, a sturdy old lady, leaves her grimy room, dominated by its big iron stove, at six a.m. First she goes to Mass, then she makes a tour of the neigh-

borhood. She nurses the bedridden, shops and brings mail for the crippled and gives psychological aid to the depressed. Without fanfare, without salary, Maggie serves society as a social worker. Maria is a different type. Ebullient, exalted, narcissistic, she has a limp which has earned her Disability, and made it possible for her to use her time for her chosen work, which is a kind of sharing out of the loaves and fishes. As she expresses it herself, she is "lucky with God." Maria collects old clothes and discarded furniture, and takes it to those who need it. She also collects and buys food and distributes this likewise. Sometimes she cooks delicious pies and cakes and arrives unheralded at a stranger's home, or takes it upon herself to sweep the snow off some neglected doorstep, never knowing who is thereby benefited. Maria is part of a whole complex we call a slum, and which planners with a certain naïveté feel should be swept away. One thing that is right about any kind of living area, is that here human beings, even the most deprived, play a role in society, a role which we upset at our peril. Maria and Maggie and their prototypes may be worth more than the new building which is to take their place, and they may be forced, in the faraway Project to which they are transported, into sterile idleness. To the Settlement House worker, their departure is a cause for grief.

It is by no accident that our modern American hero wanders under eerie bluish lights, down long impersonal streets, past huge apartment houses, isolated fenced-in strip parks, bewildering supermarkets and highways along which rush silent coffin-like automobiles. His cry for recognition is strangled in his throat. "I felt so awful," said a young woman after a recent Urban Renewal Hearing, "we were told that we would have a chance to speak, and then they heard the representatives of all those organizations first, and when we tried to speak at 11:30 they told us to sit down. . . . I was so *ashamed*."

To sum up: Urban renewal is trying to force the American lower classes to turn "middle-class" or to get out; it is building housing for middle incomes and not lower incomes; the slums and the ghettos are being consolidated rather than thinned; great social and educational opportunities are being missed; the feelings, rights, opinions of the people are being overridden.

"There is a difference between renewal and redevelopment," said Mrs. Murphy from the Temple Area Project in Los Angeles, "and that's where we confuse the words . . . we are not against *renewal*, we are against redevelopment, and kicking the present owners out for profiteers to come in and land grab. . . . Renewal is fixing up what is usable; in redevelopment they bulldoze you down and build all new. . . ."

This is the first of two articles

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Eichmann; the System; the Victims

by Bruno Bettelheim

Hannah Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* is largely a reprint of articles that appeared in *The New Yorker*. Still, I recommend it even to those who read the articles, not because the book's content is very different, but because the impact is even more powerful in its unbroken sequence. The task she sets for herself far transcends the crimes of

*Eichmann in Jerusalem:
A Report on the Banality of Evil*
by Hannah Arendt
(The Viking Press; \$5.50)

one man since it deals with the greatest problem of our time and not merely with genocide, one of its ugliest outcroppings. Totalitarianism in one form or another is the most important issue of our day, and if the trial had dealt only with that it would truly have been the trial of the century, for it is also totalitarianism when a nation plans for atomic destruction on a grand scale, even if that nation is democratic and plans only for defense. This is because such plans fail to set limits within the human scope. To entertain the possibility of risking atomic destruction for millions is to toy with totalitarianism because it implies the right of a state to pursue its goals no matter what.

This then is the virtue of Arendt's book – that it views Eichmann and his trial as posing the problem of the human being within a modern totalitarian system. But in a way it is also its shortcoming: the issues are so vast that we do not seem able yet to cope with them intellectually, though her book is certainly a most serious and in part successful effort to do so.

In order to deal with totalitarianism on a human scale she had somehow to reduce it to its human basis. This she does by pursuing three basic threads of

the problem: the man Eichmann; the impossibility of judging totalitarianism from our traditional system of thought, including our legal system; and the hapless victims. But so interwoven are these three issues because of the nature of the subject and the way the trial was conducted, that neither I nor Dr. Arendt can deal with them separately.

Hannah Arendt's previous contributions to our understanding of *The Human Condition* and of *The Origins of Totalitarianism* find her singularly well equipped to understand how Eichmann's deed, his trial, and his victims, are all part of the same problem. So while her book is nominally about Eichmann in Jerusalem and though the trial is discussed in a very personal, erudite, and critical way, in a deeper sense it is not even an essay on the banality of evil, as the subtitle suggests; though it is an essay on that too. Essentially it is a book about the incongruity of it all, greatest of which is the fact that by all "scientific" standards Eichmann was a "normal" person. "Half a dozen psychiatrists had certified him as 'normal' – 'More normal, at any rate, than I am after having examined him', one of them was said to have exclaimed, while another found that his whole psychological outlook, his attitude toward his wife and children, mother and father, brothers, sisters, and friends, was 'not only normal but most desirable' – and finally the

minister who paid regular visits to him in prison . . . reassured everybody by declaring Eichmann to be 'a man with very positive ideas'." Obviously our standards of normality do not apply to behavior in totalitarian societies.

It is the incongruity of the murder of millions, and of one man being accused of it all. It is so obvious that no one man can exterminate millions. The incongruity is between all the horrors recounted, and this man in the dock, when essentially all he did was to talk to people, write memoranda, receive and give orders from behind a desk. It is essentially the incongruity between our conception of life and the bureaucracy of the total state. Our imagination, our frame of reference, even our feelings, are simply not up to it.

We can witness this every day. If one individual suffers, or a few – as in an airplane crash, a mine explosion, or typically as when a neighbor's child falls in a well – immediately our sympathy is roused to the quick. We feel for the victims, and their relatives. We anxiously wait for further news. We all hope and some pray. We feel compelled to do something to help. But let thirty thousands be killed by a volcano erupting, where we are not on the scene to see it – then we are not deeply moved. We may collect money, we may talk and read about it, but we still are not really shaken up inside. Our emotions are still the emotions of the small clan or clique. We react with deep feeling to what we see and can feel in ourselves, to what is immediately before our eyes, or what we can understand from personal experience. We have not yet learned to deal with the experience of the total mass state. We simply cannot think except in terms of the individual, not in terms of millions – or at least most of us cannot. A few screams evoke in us deep anxiety and a desire to help. Hours of screaming without end lead us only to wish that the screamer would shut up.

This, then, is a book about our in-

Coming

A Gift from Nabokov
by Hilary Corke

Stephen Spender's Criticism
by John Berryman

Britain after World Power – II
by Oscar Gass

ability to comprehend fully how modern technology and social organization, when made use of by totalitarianism, can empower a normal, rather mediocre person to play so crucial a role in the extermination of millions. By the same incongruity, it becomes theoretically possible for a minor civil servant – say a lieutenant colonel, to keep the parallel to Eichmann – to start the extermination of most of us by pressing a button. It is an incongruity between the image of man we still carry – rooted though it is in the humanism of the Renaissance and in the liberal doctrines of the 18th Century – and the realities of human existence in the middle of our current technological revolution. Had this revolution not permitted us to view the individual as a mere cog in the complex machinery, dispensable, a mere instrument, Eichmann would never have been possible. But neither would have been the slaughter at Stalingrad, Russia's slave labor camps, the bombing of Hiroshima, or the current planning for nuclear war. It is the contradiction between the incredible power technology has put at our disposal, and how unimportant the individual has become just because of it.

It is the incongruity between the banality of an Eichmann, and that only such a banal person could effect the destruction of millions. Had he been more of a man, his humanity would have kept him from his evil work; had he been less of a man, he would not have been effective at his job. His is exactly the banality of a man who would push the button when told, con-

cerned only with pushing it well, and without any regard for who was pushed by it, or where.

Even our language has become incongruous; it fails us because our words are symbols for events occurring in an entirely different context; they refer only to matters of a different magnitude. To kill applies to the murder of an enemy in war, or for personal gain, or out of personal hate. It implies something akin to a face to face encounter. Dillinger was a killer. Eichmann was an instrument in the destruction of millions; anything that he did not consider strictly legal revolted him. As he truthfully stated, he never killed a man. Legalized mass murder, by order of the state – this he did not mind; on the contrary, he could enjoy the efficiency, the "scientific" attitude with which he executed his duty. His "expert" knowledge of the Jewish problem was in all respects woefully inadequate, as Arendt describes in detail; it mainly consisted of his having read two books. But to him this seemed a scientific approach to the problem of emigration and extermination. This again is of crucial importance, because without such legalistic or scientific detachment, the inhumanity of totalitarianism cannot be understood. It was not simply one person's pseudo-scientism leading him astray. These facts are amply documented by the legalized, murderous "scientific" experiments carried out by persons to whom, according to their training and position, the qualification of scientist could not be denied. I am referring here to the phy-

sicians who engaged in human experimentation, as described in the Nuremberg Trials and many other reports. These were – in many cases – prominent physicians, distinguished university professors and what not, all trained in pre-Nazi times, all sworn to the Hippocratic oath. And some of the greatest physicians of Germany knew and officially approved of what their colleagues were doing. They too did what they did only because it all seemed perfectly legal; all was in order within the frame of reference of the totalitarian state. Certainly it is misleading to apply to these doctors the old-fashioned term of physician or healer. But neither does the old-fashioned term murderer apply to them, or to Eichmann, because it is a term remaining within the human orientation.

Despite the judges' efforts to fit Eichmann into the old categories, his location in history, like the magnitude of his deeds, defied their efforts. That is why they tried to establish in vain that he had once killed a Jewish boy, as if that would have made any difference when he had helped to exterminate millions. But if they had been able to prove he had murdered one person, he would somehow have done a deed we could comprehend and punish within existing law and our familiar concept of retribution.

Our language is just as inadequate for discussing the victims. By now an entire literature has sprung up glorifying the martyrdom of the Jewish victims. Yet the term martyrdom applies to them as little as the ordinary term murderer applies to an Eichmann, or to the plane crews who dropped atomic bombs. Had Japan been victorious, they would probably have been tried as murderers.

According to Webster, a martyr is a person "who voluntarily suffers death as the penalty of witnessing to and refusing to renounce his religion or a principle." In this sense the early Christians were martyrs, not because they were murdered – that only makes them victims of the state – but because they could have saved their lives by embracing the state religion, and chose not to. Arendt is right not to grant the murdered Jews the sainthood of mar-

Address to a Cannon

To do you homage we will bury you in sunshine,
Festoon your tarred mouth with a smoky web:
Silent frigate frozen to park greens
Where nurses traffick amongst prams.
Bird claws shall serve you as flintlock
And children fly round you, dusty battalions;
Raindrops on your nickle plate will be as tears
And bus fumes and thunderclouds wrap you as smoke.
If then you squawk or ever again bray fire
We'll bear you into the deepest dark cave
With bats for your banners, toads tootling buglers
And gray moles and dark rivers to sound your tattoo.

J. EDGAR SIMMONS

tyrs, and to view them simply as men. To those who claim they were martyrs, this is a sacrilegious position, and whoever holds that their actions may have contributed to their fate is accused of wishing to assert that the Jews were guilty – or that the Nazis were not.

If I should choose to walk unarmed at night in Central Park and get robbed there, it does not mean that my attacker is less guilty, nor that I am guilty. All it means is that I am not very smart and have failed to inform myself of the dangers I was risking. And if I get killed, I am not a martyr to the inequality of our society, the lack of police protection, or the upbringing of slum children, although my death may be due to these causes. I am merely dead. This does not change the guilt of the killer. But discussing how I contributed to my fate may prevent others from repeating my mistakes and is hence of greater use than merely bemoaning my death or trying to make of me a martyr.

Whether one believes it serves no purpose to raise this question, or whether one is convinced that the issue needs the most careful scrutiny – this depends on whether one believes that a totalitarianism of Hitler's type is unique and that we shall never see it again. Arendt believes, and so do I, that some of the characteristics of the Third Reich are inherent in modern totalitarianism, while others more peculiar to it can fortunately remain so. Today as then, for example, we still respond to devices used by the modern mass state for exerting control through the impersonal bureaucracy, impersonal tastemakers, and impersonal sources of information; all hide individual responsibility behind a screen of objectivity and service to the community. This is why Arendt is not satisfied with studying the personality of an Eichmann as a unique phenomenon, but devotes equal attention to the system and what it did to its victims.

Those who wish to learn from these events for the future must accept not only the possibility, but the probability, that most people are neither heroes nor martyrs – that under great stress and misery a few become heroes, but most people deteriorate rather rapidly, and that inhumanity could be found both among Nazis and their victims. Stu-

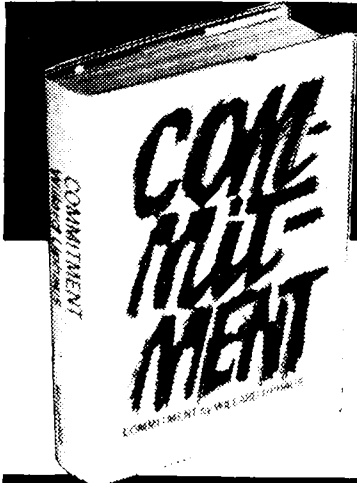
dents of society or of man have learned to take for granted that nobody, including the students themselves, are ever free of human failings. Just because we know that none of us is entirely free from guilt for what has happened, we can afford to investigate even the guilt of the victims. This Hannah Arendt tries to do around the specific event of the Eichmann trial, as others have tried to do around the concentration camp.

When in 1939, fresh out of the concentration camp, I tried to tell Americans about my experiences, I was told by most, including psychiatrists, that my views were incorrect, or that I was suffering from a prisoner psychosis, because I warned that the SS were not demented sadists or (in the words of the Eichmann trial) monsters, but in the vast majority mediocre men – banal, to use Arendt's term – but nonetheless deadly effective. I was told to let the after-effects of my camp experience subside before I said any more, because my theories were apt to mislead Americans. To believe that the SS acted according to purposeful plan ran so counter to what most people then wished to believe, that it was also unacceptable to them when I said that the camps had a crucial role in the master plan of the Reich. When I spoke about a concentration camp society and how it was intended to break the individual's ability to resist, once he was caught, this too met with little acceptance. It was just too contrary to our humanistic frame of reference.

I mention it here because Arendt's

book may well meet with similar reactions. Those who will view it as an account of the trial – critical, highly personal, perhaps even biased in part – will be dismayed by it because they will miss what her book has to teach. Yet to write the history of just another prominent Nazi was hardly worth her effort, nor to describe a trial that served propaganda as much as justice. If only one more miserable political criminal was being tried, then it would have seemed petty to take the court to task for the way it conducted the trial, because the accused's guilt was clear to begin with, and he admitted to it. Or why drag into her account of the trial that Jews, and even Jewish leaders, lent an unwilling heavy hand in the extermination of Jews? This had nothing whatever to do with trying the accused. His guilt was not an iota less because they did so.

Many will harp on all this because they fail to grasp the real issue. Judge Musmanno, who reviewed her book in *The New York Times Book Review*, could see it only as a most unfair account of a trial, as if the trial itself had been her topic. He failed to see that the issue was not Eichmann, but totalitarianism. He writes, for example, that "Miss Arendt devotes considerable space to Eichmann's conscience and informs us that one of Eichmann's points in his own defense was 'that there were no voices from the outside to arouse his conscience'." Musmanno adds, "How abysmally asleep is a conscience when it must be aroused to be told there is something morally wrong about press-



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ing candy upon a little boy to induce him to enter a gas chamber of death?" To ask such a rhetorical question is playing up to the gallery, or the emotions of the audience, as did Attorney General Hausner (according to Arendt) because it was never proved that Eichmann did such a thing, or knew about it. Of course, he knew about the killings; he never denied it. But what Arendt was talking about was the dreadful situation that in a totalitarian state there were no voices from the outside to arouse one's conscience. This is the important issue she deals with, as Musmanno's emotionally loaded question tries to make us forget. For us who were not Nazis, the issue is the absence of these voices, our voices. This is what makes living in a totalitarian society so desperate, because there is nobody to

turn to for guidance, and there are no voices from the outside.

How silent one's voice becomes under totalitarianism is well known by those who were inside concentration camps. They did not raise their voices to tell about it as long as they remained within range of the system. Maybe my conscience was "abysmally asleep," but when I was released from the camp I did not tell about it, not as long as I or my mother were still on German soil. All I did tell others was to get out of Germany in a hurry, or they would perish. That is how little my conscience spoke as long as I had to fear being returned to the camp.

To prove that Eichmann could have heard the voice of conscience, Judge Musmanno quotes the story of Pastor Grueber, whom the court lauded as

"one of the just men of the world." Undoubtedly he is a wonderful man, and like everyone else, I too admire his courage and moral convictions. But Arendt's account shows how softly even this man's voice spoke. On one occasion he asked Eichmann to let unleavened bread be sent to the Jews in Hungary for Passover. And he intervened on behalf of those Jews who had been wounded in World War I, of those who had received high war decorations, and of the widows of men killed in that war. But when asked by the court directly if he had tried to influence Eichmann, when asked "Did you, as a clergyman, try to appeal to his feelings, preach to him and tell him that his conduct was contrary to morality?" he had to answer that he had not, because "words would have been useless." And so indeed they might have been. If conscience spoke so little and so softly out of the mouth of one of the most courageous men, how can one doubt that Eichmann felt that no voices spoke up to reproach him? That they did not is no excuse for Eichmann. Those who think that Arendt quotes all this to exculpate him will dismiss the book, as Judge Musmanno did. But this is not her point. Her point is that even a saintly man like Probst Grueber spoke so softly that his voice remained inaudible, and that this is the tragedy of the honest man in a totalitarian society. This is why a Pasternak remained quiet under Stalin, while the Ehrenburgs praised him.

This is also why Arendt goes to some length to discuss a different attitude toward the handing over of Jews and how it affected Nazi functionaries in countries like Denmark or Bulgaria, where there was strong resistance to it not only among the population but also among high government and church officials. She speaks of the slow erosion of doctrinaire Nazi attitudes in these Germans because they were exposed to voices that objected to Nazi morality, voices that were loud and clear enough and numerous enough to make themselves heard.

Since Arendt views the importance of the trial as revealing the nature and the still very present dangers of totalitarianism, she is critical of the legal basis of this trial. She does not accuse

Mrs. Throstle

Mrs. Throstle said in her garden girdled by meadows and
mastered by mountains –

"Here I am close . . ."

– by a passion of poppies and white tranced lilacs
and the gold-edged breeze-tipped tick
of the petals' time –

"This is my altar . . ."

– the motion of wings and the costly clash
of dewdrops shivered on poppies on lilacs –

"Here is my temple . . ."

said Mrs. Throstle.

Where the injured rat is dispatched by the mongrel
the atheist alleys refract the glitter
and the garbage witch
goes jumbling and peering
over the gutters' varied and various offerings
into cans that are sweet with the breath of July,
godless garbage far
from poor Mrs. Throstle,
where the painful witch goes dying and creaking.

In the cell that rustles at night like a motion
the cell all old with a dungeon people
that is always one
one only one ever
no star no sun no messenger moon
but insane time's face that shrinks and swells –
riven from God in her alter egos
poor Mrs. Throstle
poor Mrs. Throstle
her diety-decor all lewd and locked.

JOSEPHINE JACOBSEN

the judges or Attorney General Hausner because they failed in meting out justice, or for failing to conduct a trial that was as fair as one could expect it to be under the circumstances. She is critical because the court vacillated between trying a man and trying history, and to this she objects.

To try Eichmann for the deeds of the state which he carried out—this the legal system by which he was tried did not permit. Had that been attempted, then hundreds of thousands of others would have had to be tried too. All the Germans, and many Jews too, who in some fashion helped in the killing of Jews. As those who arranged for the Nuremberg Trials recognized, it was nearly impossible to bring to justice all who participated in the crimes against humanity. For when such crimes are committed, where is one to draw the line? A lieutenant colonel, such as Eichmann, stands neither very high nor very low in the hierarchy. Since he in particular was on trial, was the line to be drawn at the level of captain? And if so, why this arbitrary cut-off point?

To avoid all these and many other difficulties, Eichmann had to be tried as a person. But to do so required that he be viewed as a man of extraordinary qualities; that is, as a monster. This Eichmann certainly was, but as part of a monstrous system; as a man, he was blatantly not. That is why neither Arendt nor the court were able to restrict themselves to the trial of one man, but resorted to "painting the broader picture." To the court this larger picture was that of anti-Semitism, and Arendt is critical of the court on this score (or so it seemed to me), because it obfuscates the fact that only one individual was on trial for his life, and to mix up his trial with that of a system is questionable if one wishes to uphold individual responsibility.

That is, both the prosecuting attorney and the judges wanted to see Eichmann's deed as horrendous—which it was—but not as something radically different from other persecutions of the Jews. That is why, as far as the prosecution was concerned, "it is not an individual that is in the dock at this historic trial, and not the Nazi regime alone, but anti-Semitism throughout history." And this is why Israel's Attorney General Hausner began his

opening address with Pharoah in Egypt, and with Haman's edict, "To destroy, to slay, and to cause them to perish." Not by the farthest stretch of imagination could Eichmann be justly put to death for Pharoah's deeds. Nor can any court within our legal system try an idea, such as anti-Semitism, nor can events in the history of man, such as the history of anti-Semitism, be tried. If we begin to try ideas, we end up with witch-hunts; or condemnations without due process, such as characterized the McCarthy era in America.

Why, then, were all these images evoked? The court did so because it viewed Hitlerism as a chapter, though the most lurid chapter, of anti-Semitism. But in Arendt's opinion, which I share, this was not the last chapter in anti-Semitism but rather one of the first chapters in modern totalitarianism. For this reason it is unfortunate, as Arendt stresses, that Eichmann was not tried by an international tribunal. To ensure against further chapters, as much as a writer can, Arendt tries to show the full horrors of totalitarianism, which go very far beyond those of anti-Semitism. A full understanding of totalitarianism requires that we see Eichmann as basically a mediocrity whose dreadful importance is derived only from his more or less chance position within the system.

To believe otherwise, to believe that there exists true freedom of action for the average individual within such system, is so contrary to fact that neither prosecuting attorney nor judges attempted to show that Eichmann enjoyed such a freedom. Only the extraordinary person, at great risk to himself, retains limited freedom in such a state.

It is in this sense that totalitarianism exists wherever the state abrogates the rights of the individual and makes state reason the supreme principle. That principle in the Hitler state was to make the German people supreme, and to eliminate all racial impurity from the soil of the greater German Reich. Toward this end he exterminated not only Jews but also millions of Poles and Russians, and virtually the entire gypsy population of Europe. Individuals counted for nothing, and if they hampered the unfolding of this

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supreme goal they were exterminated – not to serve individual hatred or personal advantage, but to obey the supreme law. Hence Eichmann's revulsion at those who enriched themselves, and his outrage at what he considered the barbarity of the Rumanian pogroms. Hence also, as Rousset has pointed out, the requirement of the state that wherever possible, the victims should acquiesce to their destruction so that they, too, like victims in some barbarous rite, should be part of the universal effort to do what is best for the state.

Thus if one translates the extermination of the Jews as part of the history of anti-Semitism, then Eichmann and his kind are indeed the greatest anti-Semitic monsters of all. And this the court tried to establish. If, on the other hand, the extermination of the Jews was merely one part of the master plan

to create the thousand year totalitarian Reich, then Eichmann becomes a cog, sometimes an important one, sometimes less so, depending on his position in the over-all machinery. In this case the cog was of such personal mediocrity that he really could not quite comprehend his role. Arendt shows again and again how he was beholden to clichés, was in many ways unable to form opinions or think on his own, was carried away by his own phrases.

At least one of these clichés is deeply significant here. Again and again Eichmann spoke of *Kadavergehorsam*, freely translated: the obedience of a corpse. This was by no means a term born under Hitler. It was taken over from the Imperial Prussian Army tradition. This corpse-like obedience was expected of every good German soldier. It was considered one of his greatest virtues. If this was so in the German Army of pre-Hitler days, when at least some shreds of democratic thinking were afloat, and when autocracy was tempered by some nodding acquaintance with humanistic ideals, how much more powerful did it become under Hitler, that throwback to the creed of the god-emperor who brooked rival deities even less than his Imperial Roman antecedents.

And it is true: whoever embraces such *Kadavergehorsam* in regard to anything his supervisors may require is no longer a man but a living corpse. Here the obedient servant of Hitler and the prisoner who walked to the gas chamber became alike as true symbols of the total state. Rewarded servant and prisoner to be murdered, each had lost his free will, his ability to act out of personal conviction. The difference is that the Eichmanns were delighted with such conditions and felt it their duty to impose it on others. That the first made the choice of his own will, while the latter were herded into it by police and fellow prisoners, is the radical difference. But in the end result, the corpse-like existence, the difference is much smaller. That Eichmann not only chose such flagrant denial of anything that we consider human – worse, that he imposed it on others – this is reason enough to judge him. But let us also remember how at one time in this country such *Kadavergehorsam* was

imposed on many men and considered their most desirable attitude – those whom arbitrary fate had condemned to the role of slave.

One could wish that the court had this issue in mind when it went way beyond the trying of Eichmann to discuss Jewish failure to resist. To decide whether or not Eichmann was guilty of the crime he was accused of, this was supposedly the purpose of the trial. He admitted his guilt, which was also well established through corroborating evidence. Then why call all these witnesses for the prosecution? For the trial it was immaterial to discuss why Jews did not fight back. Yet the court asked witness after witness: "Why did you not protest?" "Why did you board the train?" "Fifteen thousand people were standing there and hundreds of guards facing you. Why didn't you revolt and charge and attack?"

Arendt is probably correct about the motives of the court. She believes that these questions were asked to convince all Jews that there can be no strength in Jewry unless it is vested in the state of Israel. She feels that by dragging out the lack of Jewish resistance, the Israeli authorities were trying to show that no such resistance was possible because no Jewish state existed to support it. If this was the reason of the court, perhaps it was also why the same court neglected to shed light on the unfortunate and desperate cooperation of Jewish leadership with the SS.

Because, like the court in Israel, it was the misfortune of the Jews of Europe that they too saw Hitlerism as only the worst wave of anti-Semitism. They therefore responded to it with methods that in the past had permitted them to survive. That is why they got involved with executing the orders of the state; that is why the Jewish leaders and elders, with heavy hearts, cooperated in arranging things for the Nazi masters. Arendt claims, and her thesis will long be fought over, that without this collaboration Hitler could never have succeeded in killing so many Jews.

This is the part of her book that will be most widely objected to. I do not claim to know whether she is right or wrong in her argument: that if the Jewish organizations had not existed, the extermination of the Jews could

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never have attained such tremendous proportions. But she certainly makes her point effectively. No doubt the stories of the ghettos would have been different if most Jews and their leadership had not been more or less willing, out of anxiety, to cooperate with the Germans, if they had not opposed the small minority that called for resistance at all costs, including violent fighting back. No doubt many Jews would have been quicker to support the pitifully small fighting minority had they been told what lay in store for them by Jewish leaders who knew, or should and could have known, what fate awaited them. Many others might have tried to escape. It is another question whether more Jews could have been saved if no Jewish organizations had existed, as Arendt claims.

Here too, objections will be raised against the book. Because of her concentration on the injustice bred by totalitarianism, Arendt at times creates an ambiguity in her evaluation of guilt. Thus on cursory reading she seems to plead that Eichmann was a victim and that Jewish leaders were heavy with guilt. In fact, Arendt saw rightly that Eichmann was not the greatest villain of all. But to say so leaves her open to the misunderstanding that she did not think him much of a villain, which she certainly thought he was.

Conversely, there seems little doubt that Jewish leaders who made up lists of those to be shipped to the gas chambers became accessories to Eichmann's crimes. Others who made up similar lists, not knowing about the extermination policy and thinking their choices were merely being shipped East, acted less reprehensibly. Again others concerned with saving their own lives and those of relatives were ready to sacrifice the lives of others. Finally there were those who gave the SS a helping hand only because they believed that in doing so they reduced hardship; they may merely have been lacking in foresight, in understanding of the situation, in courage. The terrible tragedy was that they, no less than those who collaborated fully with the SS, were helping Eichmann to perpetrate his crimes.

But again, these issues are immaterial in trying one individual for the crimes he committed. Why then did Hannah

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Arendt spend such a large part of her book on a discussion of Jewish willingness to cooperate and on the Jews' contribution to their own extermination?

I believe that her purpose was to paint the broader context of the trial as she saw it, which went far beyond that of anti-Semitism. This was of greatest interest to me, because it has to do with the much more important issue: how and where can an individual resist, or fight back in a totalitarian society? Jewish witnesses who testified seemed to think that nobody could, certainly not the persecuted Jews. Arendt's point – and it is well taken – is that any organization within a totalitarian society that compromised with the system became immediately ineffectual in opposing it and ended up helping it. "The gravest omission from the 'general picture' [that the court tried to paint of the extermination of the Jews] was that of a witness to testify to the cooperation between Nazi rulers and the Jewish authority." Eichmann himself asserted that without such cooperation the extermination would have run into serious difficulties. He said, "The formation of the Jewish Council and the distribution of business was left to the discretion of the Council. . . . These functionaries with whom we were in constant contact – well, they had to be treated with kid gloves. They were not ordered around, for the simple reason that . . . that would not have helped matters any. If the person in question does not like what he is doing, the whole works will suffer." "Judge Halevi found out from Eichmann in cross examination that the Nazis had regarded this cooperation as 'the very cornerstone' of their Jewish policy."

That the SS state could not have functioned without the cooperation of the victims, to this I can testify from my camp experience. The SS would have

been unable to run the concentration camps without the cooperation of many of the prisoners – usually a willing one, in some cases reluctant, but all too often an eager cooperation.

This cooperation the court deliberately refrained from bringing to light, though it freely brought out the absence of resistance. To quote Arendt, the court did not raise the question, "Why did you cooperate in the destruction of your own people?" but this question was shouted by spectators who were only too familiar with the contribution of prominent Jews to the Jewish fate. When the former Baron Philip von Freudiger, formerly of Budapest, gave testimony, this question was screamed at him, so that the court had to interrupt the session. Arendt reports: "Freudiger, an orthodox Jew of considerable dignity, was shaken: 'There are people here who say they were not told to escape. But fifty percent of the people who escaped were captured and killed – as compared with ninety-nine percent, for those who did not escape.' A fateful comment on the consequences of Jews being kept in the dark by Jewish leaders.

From this and much more Arendt concludes that, "If the Jewish people had really been unorganized and leaderless, there would have been chaos and plenty of misery but the total number of victims would hardly have been between four-and-a-half and six million people."

Thus only fighting partisans or those who went underground had a chance to survive; only those who made no effort to compromise, to meet the oppressor half way, those who shunned such principles as that by sacrificing thousands one might save tens of thousands. Because accepting such principles implied some cooperation with the enemy in the sacrifice of the thousands.

In retrospect it is quite clear that only utter non-cooperation on the part of the Jews could have offered a small chance of forcing a different solution on Hitler. This conclusion is not an indictment of Jews living or dead – but an empirical finding of history. To deny or ignore it may open the door to the genocide of other races or minority groups. Active resistance arouses strong admiration, permits most of us

to put it out of our minds fairly soon.

Perhaps an example from the American scene may illustrate. Many of us are impressed by the way Negroes in Birmingham marched, singing and upright, to jail. But much deeper feelings are aroused in us when we see pictures of a solitary Negro being dragged down by policemen because he refuses to march to jail on his own. This experience did not often confront the German people. Certainly from my experience in the concentration camps, and with German civilians there, it made a difference. The reaction of the German people to the crimes committed against the Jews might have been very different if each Jew who was taken had to be dragged down the street, or shot down on the spot. Again and again when German citizens witnessed utter brutality against Jews, there was at least some reaction among the civilian population; and the Nazis were extremely sensitive to it.

At least one program that was very much a part of Hitler's essential demands for the purity of the German race met with so much popular resistance that it had to be discontinued. I refer to the "euthanasia" program for the extermination of the mentally sick. Later the gas that could no longer be used to exterminate mental patients because of the resistance among the German population was then used to gas Jews. (As early as 1935 Hitler had told his Reich medical leader, that "if war came he would take up and carry out this question of euthanasia because it was easier to do so in war time." This was long before he had told anyone about the extermination of the Jews. As soon as the war began the decree was carried out, and between September, 1939, and August, 1941, about 50,000 mentally-sick Germans were killed with carbon monoxide gas in institutions where the death rooms were disguised exactly as they were later in Auschwitz – that is, as shower rooms and bathrooms.)

Arendt also tells of how two small actions against Jews were used for testing out what the popular reaction might be. Perhaps if these Jews had not, on their own, packed their things and marched themselves to the train that took them away, if they had had to be openly shot, or dragged down the

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Bruno Bettelheim, now a professor at the University of Chicago, is the author of *The Informed Heart* and other books about the effect of the totalitarian state on the individual. J. Edgar Simmons teaches English at Southern Illinois University. Josephine Jacobsen has published three books of poems.

streets, the Nazis might have learned that such methods aroused too much resistance. There is little doubt that they were astonished at the lack of popular opposition to the extermination program. But there was also little reaction because the Jews cooperated so smoothly, following the advice of their own leaders.

When, then, or at which point, is an individual still able to save his soul and perhaps also his life, although enveloped by a totalitarian society? Interestingly enough, this very point could be identified clearly in the Eichmann trial. Arendt pays great attention to it. One can only regret that the court did not. This moment of choice came when Eichmann for the very first time visited the extermination camps and saw what happened to the Jews. He nearly fainted. But instead of heeding his emotional reaction, he pushed it down to go on with the task that he had been assigned and that he embraced as his own obligation. This was Eichmann's point of no return. Then and there he abdicated from reacting as a human being and made himself a mere tool of the state. Interestingly enough we find a similar story in the life of Höss, the commander of Auschwitz. His moment of truth came when one of his best friends, another SS man, was unjustly executed for failing to carry out an order. Such, I believe, are the moments when the vital decision has to be made, because these are situations where one is confronted in a personal, immediate way, not an abstract one, with the issue of the human being versus the totalitarian state.

For all too few Germans it came as Hitler gained power; for others it happened around the euthanasia program. For more Germans it came with Stalin-grad. Not surprisingly, this decision faced American soldiers too in the war against Hitler. Perhaps typical is an American friend, a major in the air force, who for two years bombed Germany. He never questioned but that what he did was helping to bring an end to an inhuman regime, though he saw little of what he did at close range. Immediately after Hitler's collapse, he and a small group traversed Europe by jeep. He now saw close up and with his own eyes the leveling of human centers



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of habitation to a heap of broken rubble—but also a human rubble. In a moment of truth he saw how there was no clean division in war between those who destroy and those who battle the destroyers. He could no longer remain in the army.

Such a moment of truth came certainly to every prisoner in the concentration camps, when he was confronted with the problem of whether or not to cooperate with the SS and help in the running of the camp. It came to many Germans, and it must have come to many Jews, particularly to Jewish leaders. My thesis is that if one does not stand up to this experience, if one takes the first step in cooperating with the totalitarian system at the expense of one's convictions and sentiments, one is caught in a web that tightens with each step of cooperation until it becomes impossible to break free.

I have spoken about the incongruity of it all. There was no less incongruity in the trial itself. Here was a lieutenant-colonel, who admitted his guilt, but also that he had done nothing but his duty. And here was all the machinery of a state, trying to convict him of a crime he had admitted to begin with.

Initially I said this was not the trial of the century, though it dealt with the

crime of the century. At one time the crime of Leopold and Loeb was rightly called the "crime of the century," but since then it has been superseded by crimes such as Eichmann's. These two boys committed a most inhumane act, not for gain or out of hatred, but to assert principles. It was a crime committed because of the most inhumane principles and to assert their superiority. To their crime too the old legal maxim, "*Cui bono?*" did not apply. Neither Leopold nor Loeb profited from their crime, nor did Eichmann in any appreciable way. He recognized that his advancement on the front or through other services probably would have been quicker, though he was certainly serving the principles of his masters, and in part to get his promotions.

Loeb and Leopold's trial was the trial of the century because, thanks to Darrow, the incredible inhumanity of their deed was put within the broad context of human nature. The result was that despite our revulsions at their crime enough empathy was aroused with these errant human beings so that the trial left us not only shaken with helpless indignation but also aroused in us the determination to create a better society, one that could not and would not produce another Leopold and Loeb.

Eichmann's trial was not the trial of

the century, because as a trial it had altogether too many shortcomings. It was a trial where the witnesses had their day in court, but hardly the accused. It was a trial where there was no balance between the machinery available to the prosecuting attorney when compared to that of the defense. It was a trial where important witnesses for the defense were prevented from appearing in court because they were given no assurance of immunity. (Obviously only those who had intimate knowledge of Eichmann's work could have borne witness on his behalf as to whether or not he wanted the Jews exterminated, or was only following orders. But the only ones who could solve these questions were those who had seen him at his gruesome work, because they had been his collaborators. Hence they risked prosecution under the same Nazi Collaborator Law that Eichmann was tried under. They could have come to Israel and appeared as witnesses only if immunity had been granted them. This Israel refused to do, depriving Eichmann of his chance to produce witnesses on his own behalf.) It was a trial where most of the time was spent on issues that had no direct bearing on the guilt of the accused.

It was a trial where the state spoke with rightful moral indignation about crimes against humanity, to an accused it had kidnaped in violation of international law. The legal background of this trial also illustrates the incongruity of our legal concepts for dealing with 20th Century totalitarianism. And here again I speak not as an expert or as a lawyer, but rather as a citizen concerned with what our laws can, and cannot do for us all.

The basic principle underlying the law under which Eichmann was tried is derived from the charter of the Nuremberg Trials. They served as precedent, for example, for convicting a man without his having been found guilty by a jury of his peers. According to this charter of the Nuremberg Trials the greatest crime of all was the crime against peace which was called "the supreme international crime... in that it contains within itself the accumulated evil of the whole: war crimes, and crimes against humanity." Of those who sat in judgment at Nuremberg, at



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least one nation had engaged in unprovoked aggressive war against Finland, while two had committed crimes against humanity according to this charter; one by using slave labor. (In addition, that nation has been accused of the killing of 15,000 Polish officers at Katyn Forest. This was never proved, or disproved, because it was never brought to trial.) Another nation had clearly acted against the Hague convention by dropping atomic bombs, indiscriminately killing civilians. Still, these things happened before the Nuremberg Trials.

Since then, Israel, together with France and England, have waged war against Egypt and hence, according to the charter, committed the supreme international crime. But no court has tried them. While England and France could at least claim that Egypt had abrogated certain of their rights, Israel could not even make this claim. Crimes against humanity are unfortunately still tried only by the victors, with only the vanquished as the accused.

Such are the realities of political life in our 20th Century. I regret them but I do not object to them, because I know that these same realities induced me (in my more optimistic moments I like to think, forced me) to do things in the concentration camp (and probably outside as well) that would not stand up too well under closest scrutiny.

Unlike Arendt—and despite her cogent argument for an international court—I do not object to Israel's trying Eichmann, or to their trying him the way that they did, because I believe we must deal in some fashion with the Eichmanns of this world. That our legal procedures are not adequate for doing so does not mean they should go untried. I mean only to show that our existing laws are as incongruous for dealing with totalitarianism as we are unprepared as individuals to meet its challenge. Despite my many objections to details, if I were asked whether I preferred the trial to Eichmann's remaining free, I have no doubt that I am glad there was a trial.

Arendt seems to object to the trial as propaganda. This to me is its main justification, given the irregularities of the trial and Eichmann's having been kidnaped. Personally I would have

preferred the solution Arendt suggests, that Eichmann should have been killed by a Jew, as Tindelian killed Talaat Bey (the great killer in the Armenian pogroms of 1915) and Schwartzbard killed Simon Petlyura (who was responsible for the pogroms during the Russian civil war). If such executioner of Eichmann had then been tried, through that trial all the crimes of Eichmann could have been forced on the conscience of the world without extraneous questions such as kidnapping and legality of the trial interfering with the clear message of the murderous nature of totalitarianism. If Eich-

mann's trial did not serve justice well, it did something much more important, and this for the living rather than for the dead: It brought the world face to face with those dangers of totalitarianism that it seems all too willing to avoid examining.

So while I would recommend this book for many reasons, the most important one is that our best protection against oppressive control and dehumanizing totalitarianism is still a personal understanding of events as they happen. To this end Hannah Arendt has furnished us with a richness of material.

FILMS

The First Roses of Summer

John Huston's new film *The List of Adrian Messenger* is to his career as *The Trial* is to Orson Welles': it virtually confirms that only the second best is yet to be. The director of *The Maltese Falcon*, if he were still around, would have thought this a poor suspense script. All the victims on the list are dead very early, the murderer is known long before the end, and the

grandson. However, the pace is swift, and the fox-hunting scenes—done in Ireland—reflect Huston's devotion to the sport. Nothing else in the picture seems to have aroused equivalent interest in him.

Heavens Above!, this month's Peter Sellers film, was industriously contrived for him, but does little more

The List of Adrian Messenger
(Universal)

Heavens Above! (Janus)

The Critic (Pintoff)

Dr. No (United Artists)

In the Cool of the Day (M-G-M)

pursuers simply wait for him to reveal himself. The "bonus" device of having five stars play small parts in rubber masks is feeble cleverness. They don't "play" anything—five assistant electricians could have worn the masks. Besides, they must have looked to the other actors, as they look to us, like five fellows in rubber masks. George C. Scott acts with restrained energy as a retired English general, but he sounds about as English as Nelson Rockefeller in scenes with Herbert Marshall, John Merivale, Clive Brook, and Gladys Cooper. The same is true of Huston's young son, who plays a crusty earl's



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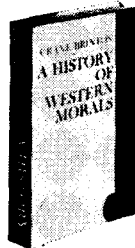
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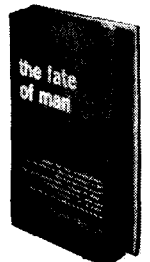
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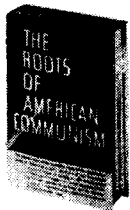
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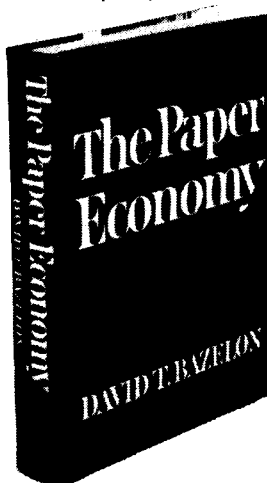
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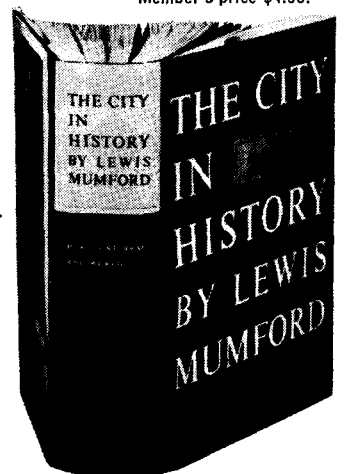
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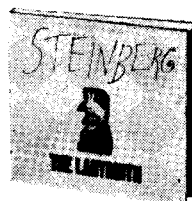
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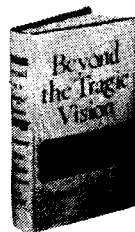
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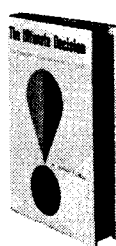
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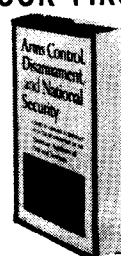
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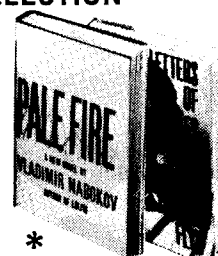
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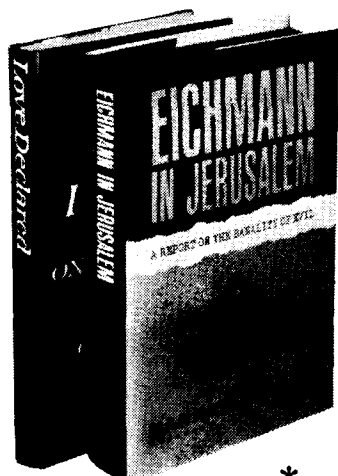
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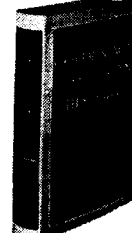
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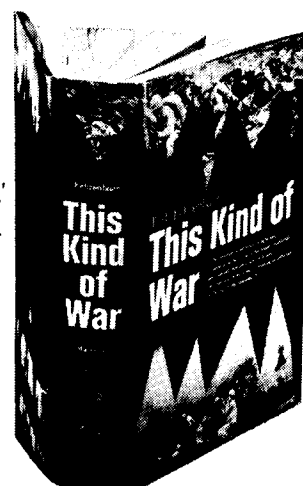
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than give him a chance to display another accent (Birmingham cockney?), cut his hair in short spikes, wear glasses and cheap clothes. Once he has revealed this new "characterization," he has a lot of plot mechanics to go through but not many striking comic or other opportunities. There are some laughs, of course, but Sellers and his writers do slog at it. The script is based on the old idea of the clergyman who takes Christianity seriously and upsets not only his parishioners but his ecclesiastical superiors. This formula, usually about a burning idealist, here aims at fun through a clerical error, of another kind, that sent him to this parish in the first place. The Boulting brothers, who produced and directed it, have a reputation as fearless satirists that was largely built for them by their publicists; to the unsalaried eye, they are commercial moviemakers whose commerce is in the quite acceptably daring. An example of their comic invention: Sellers, in a rich woman's home, sips sherry and takes a dog-biscuit from a bowl of same that has been left nearby. The hostess is too

If you wish to know what book Nelson Algren calls "the new 1984," how William Holden proves "Being alive isn't enough!," why Paul Neimark accuses Barry Goldwater of "philosophical schizophrenia" —if you dare to know why Burt Lancaster and Sherri Finkbine are the hero and heroine in the first non-shamtroversial American national magazine — read the ANNUAL edition of

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embarrassed to stop him, and Sellers avidly eats up the whole bowl. And a hundred silent-film comedies turn over uneasily in their vaults.

Minute for minute, the very short short accompanying this picture is funnier. *The Critic*, by Ernie Pintoff and Mel Brooks, is an overdue dig at those arty short films that consist of abstract shapes pursuing one another through changing floods of color. Mercifully, instead of the usual electronic-music sound-track, we hear Brooks' suspicious comments.

Ian Fleming's thrillers about James Bond are an acquired taste that I have not acquired. Blood-and-sex fantasy is a small part of every healthy person's imaginative equipment, but after a certain age — say, 16 — such fantasy is usually seen in humorous perspective and, in fiction, is unacceptable without modest literary competence. I find Fleming not objectionable, but unreadable.

Dr. No is the first Fleming thriller to reach the screen and, like the novels, never decides whether it is suspense or suspense-spoof so we can neither shudder nor smile. It deals with a huge anarchist scientific base in the West Indies where it takes us, in Technicolor. The film is most notable for its numerous attractive girls, especially Zena Marshall. Sean Connery fulfills your idea of Bond if you happen to have one. *Dr. No*, a kind of space-age Fu Manchu, is played by Joseph Wiseman, who is too Fu to be good.

If such matters were legally actionable, Jane Fonda would have grounds for suit against the director Robert Stevens, the screenwriter Meade Roberts, the cinematographer Peter Newbrook, and the wardrobe designer Orry Kelly, each of whom has put her at a disadvantage in her new film *In the Cool of the Day*. Originally, I suppose, it was Miss Fonda's fault for having accepted her role in this John Houseman production. Houseman's name is practically synonymous with compromised quality: a producer whose ambitious conscience does not let him rest until, in his commercial pictures, he has tampered with something or someone serious. But, once she took the assignment in this glutinous tale of an American

wife's affair with an English publisher against Grecian backgrounds, Miss Fonda was then consistently handicapped by all the gentlemen named. One sees her struggling intelligently to give life to the lumber, and one also sees her consistently defeated. None of these matters handicaps Peter Finch, her lover, who is safely asleep throughout.

Note: Orion Press has just published *Screenplays of Michelangelo Antonioni* (\$7.95), which contains four scripts: *Il Grido* and the trilogy. Two small objections. First, unlike Bergman's collected scripts, these are not solo works; in each case the screenplay is by Antonioni and collaborators. *Screenplays of Four Antonioni Films* would be a more apt title. Second, what is the point of listing the casts and not giving the name of the role each actor plays? There is a valuable introduction by the director; and, to those who know the films, it is especially interesting to note the small differences between them and these scripts, changes made while shooting and editing. Plentiful illustrations include some good production shots.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

Correspondence

The New Republic welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.

Peace Movements in Great Britain

Sirs:

Helen Gahagan Douglas was good enough to call my attention to William H. Honan's admirable article entitled "The Peaceful Use of Terror" (April 27). May I offer my respectful congratulations to Mr. Honan on his penetrating analysis of a fallacious and dangerous argument, which is as commonly used in Britain as it is in the United States; and my thanks to you for having published it.

My attention was also caught by your "Foreign Report" on "The British Peace

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Movement." Your Report says that the Movement "has two major sections: the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament . . . and the Committee of 100."

May I say, as one who has worked in the British Peace Movement since I was an undergraduate at Cambridge half-a-century ago, that neither the CND nor the Committee of 100 can be said to form part of that Movement. They are *ad hoc* organizations, which have no clear or intelligible program, which are of very recent origin, of very obscure present tendencies, and very doubtful future. There are many long-established bodies which have worked ever since the end of the first World War for lasting peace through inspected multilateral disarmament, and the establishment of the rule of law in international affairs. I shall here mention only two of these bodies:

The United World Trust, known until recently as The National Peace Council, which has just brought out an excellent and authoritative book on "The Economic Aspects of Disarmament," written for them by the Economist Intelligence Unit.

The United Nations Association is the lineal and legal successor of the League of Nations Union, which was created by Lord (Robert) Cecil, Lord Lytton and Professor Gilbert Murray and on whose platform Sir Winston Churchill often spoke before the outbreak of the second World War.

The UNA has many scores of thousands of regular subscribing members; it has more than 600 active local Branches which keep in regular contact with their Members of Parliament on international issues; its Executive Committee is frequently received by our

Foreign Secretary and by other Ministers concerned with UN affairs.

The United Nations Association, the United World Trust and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and other similar bodies, have a long and honorable record. In 1929 and the following years they urged the principles on which President Hoover based the disarmament plan which he put forward in Geneva in 1932, a plan which came very near to success. In 1935 to 1936 they stood up for Abyssinia against Mussolini's aggression, and from then until 1939 they constantly opposed the policy of "appeasement," which brought the Second World War.

In 1956 they played a large part in the successful British opposition to the Suez War. They can certainly claim a large share of credit for the Declaration on Disarmament made by the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth in March, 1961; and for the support ultimately given by the British Government to the UN action in the Congo.

Their members have collected in recent years more than £2 million in voluntary contributions for UNICEF, for World Refugee Year, for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and other UN causes. They have made most significant contributions to British and UN thinking on economic aid to developing countries, on Technical Assistance and The Special Fund, and on the whole concept of the Development Decade.

Their ceaseless efforts over forty years have been, as we like to think, typically British—they have striven to apply the principles of practical democracy to the conduct of international affairs, and they have done much to influence thinking and policy in Britain and the world. Their work deserves to be as well known in other countries as it is here.

Philip Noel-Baker
House of Commons
London

VACATION WITH A PURPOSE!

An American Friends Service Committee Institute, July 14-21, 1963—Camp Pinebrook, Pa. An informal, unstructured seminar offering programs for all age groups; a resource staff including Stringfellow Barr, James Bristol, Harrop Freeman, Toyoy-Masa Fuse, Roy McCorkel, Joseph Monserrat, Robert Ryan.

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Will Unemployment Rise?

Sirs:

While I do not want to sound like a prophet of gloom, the following data are significant.

According to the official reports, unemployment in 1959 was 5.5 percent of the civilian labor force. Omitting the period 1960-61, during which a recession occurred, unemployment in 1962 was 5.6 percent of the civilian labor force. The official data thus far for 1963, seasonally adjusted, are:

January	5.8 percent
February	6.1 percent
March	5.6 percent
April	5.7 percent
Average	
first third of year	5.8 percent

Thus, despite the "upward" movement of the economy without interruption since before the beginning of 1962, and the much-heralded quickening of the upturn during the first quarter of 1963, unemployment during the first third of this year to date has averaged appreciably higher than in 1962 as a whole. In addition, during only four random months of 1962 was unemployment as high, and in no month in 1962 was it higher, than the average for the first third of 1963 to date.

This would seem to confirm my thesis that unemployment is still rising chronically, that the much-heralded recent "boom" is not lifting the growth rate enough to prevent continuation of the chronic rise in unemployment, and that the most recent "boom" is entirely consistent in its inadequacies with the earlier "booms" during the past ten years since 1953.

The same situation is demonstrated by the rates of economic growth. The growth rate from early 1961 to date should have averaged about 8 percent annually, to register acceptable movement from the recessionary trough toward reasonably full economic restoration. (Taking periods subsequent to earlier recessions, it was 8.3 percent from 1949 to 1950, and 8.2 percent from 1950 to 1951. It was 7.8 percent from 1954 to 1955, and 6.7 percent from 1958 to 1959.) In sharp contrast, the growth rate was only 5.4 percent

from 1961 to 1962. It was only 3.3 percent from first quarter 1962 to first quarter 1963, and only 4.1 percent (annual rate) from fourth quarter 1962 to first quarter 1963. All of these figures are in uniform 1962 dollars.

My appraisal now is that the growth rate for the balance of 1963 and on into 1964 will continue to be very much too low, that unemployment will rise, and that we will have another recession (I cannot guess just when) before we adopt policies which might satisfactorily accelerate the growth rate and start America moving again.

Yet, every time things get superficially better, or very little better, by a few indicators, the cheers are deafening and the eyes are again taken off the ball.

Leon Keyserling
Washington, D. C.

That Attack from Space

Sirs:

May I express appreciation of the excellent article, "That Attack from Space," (May 4, 1963) by Raymond D. Senter.

The idea of satellites carrying thermonuclear bombs is only one of a number of unsound proposals that have been put out by air-power and, more recently, space-power sources for the apparent purpose of keeping the public convinced of the pre-eminent importance of the Air Force. To the extent that they succeed, public understanding of the equal if not greater importance of the Army and Navy is lessened.

The B-70, now the RS-70, is another. The Skybolt missile may also be one, because of technical difficulties, but this is unfortunate because the basic idea involved is sound and its development would have greatly prolonged the usefulness of the B-52 bomber.

Francis S. Craven
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Every magazine has a Typical Reader. Playboy's is the young man-about-town; McCall's is the family; The New Yorker's is not the old lady from Dubuque; Seventeen's is the teenage girl; and MONOCLE's, we discovered, is Jack Kennedy.

We didn't plan to write about Kennedy. We didn't mean to write about Kennedy. We didn't want to write about Kennedy. But there it was... So in our Preview Issue our lead story, called "A Perfect Day for Honeyfitz," by C. D. B. Bryan, began...

In the first place you've probably read a thousand goddam stories about them already. I mean every time you pick up a magazine there's some phony article about them written by a seamstress, or an ex-roommate, or a sailor on a PT boat, for Chrissake. And I'm sick and tired of all those phonies who say they could tell by the way he brushed his teeth at Choate, for Chrissake, that he would become President of the United States. In the first place he hardly ever brushed his teeth—I don't mean he never brushed them, or anything. I mean he didn't brush them any three goddam times a day, that's all...



Even our Japanese correspondent sent us an item about a forthcoming best-seller called Destiny's Deckhand, which turned out to be an autobiography of the seaman who was on the destroyer that rammed Kennedy's PT-109.

The White House still refused to cancel its subscription, so in the fall of 1962 we started publishing a weekly newsletter—

"In the land of the blind the one-eyed is king"



THE OUTSIDER'S NEWSLETTER

whose real purpose was to avoid talking about the Kennedys. We expressed our lofty aim in an opening editorial: Just about anybody can get the 'inside' story by reading such sheets as Time and I. F. Stone's Weekly. But it takes persistence, courage, and intelligent ignorance to get the outside story—the story of what is not going on. It is our purpose to tell that story.

Despite our honest intention to avoid the dynasty issue in Teddy Kennedy's senatorial campaign, we found THE OUTSIDER'S NEWSLETTER reporting on The Edward M. Kennedy Foundation, whose purpose was to give other unqualified young men the chance that Teddy had. We pointed out that "thousands of people in our society are wasting away in obscure monotonous jobs because a lack of qualifications and experience prevents them from starting at the top. This is a tremendous waste of manpower. With a trust fund and the right connections these people could be holding down responsible positions in government, industry and the arts."

Our News Managing Editor, Marvin Kitman, has tried to get us off the Kennedys. Our newsletter includes Letters to Other Editors (we tell them what's wrong with their publications), Junket-tours, Inc., a travel agency for Congressmen, poems of protest, a feature called "I'm Not Prejudiced But..." (e.g. "Negro mathematicians have a natural sense of logarithm"), a comic strip with Herman Kahn as Superman, the adventures of James Bland of Her Majesty's Most Secret Service, constitutional questions ("Is a person born in Mississippi of American parents eligible to be President of the United States?"), and television shows for the UN: "77 Gaza Strip" and "Dr. Ben Bella"...but then somebody mistook our Executive Editor, Richard R. Lingeman, for Charles Bartlett and leaked us Robert Kennedy's diary:

Tues. Today was Jack's inauguration...The ceremonies went along smoothly until an old man named Frost tried to read a poem and was unable to do the complete job. Jack tells me he is some kind of famous poet.

That may be true but he certainly put on a shoddy performance today. I don't care how famous a man is in his line of work, if he can't deliver the goods when it counts, he should let someone else take his place on the firing line. Some of the poetry Ethel writes is better than the one he read.

Help us to break the Kennedy habit. Subscribe now so that the editors of MONOCLE and THE OUTSIDER'S NEWSLETTER can travel to far-off lands and write about what's not going on in Monaco, Paris, Lichtenstein...

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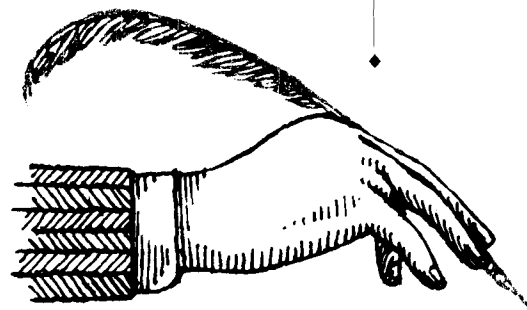
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